Nicolaus Mameranus

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Nicolaus Mameranus

Poetry and Politics at the Court of Mary Tudor

By

Matthew Tibble

with appendices by

Matthew Tibble
Gary Vos

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Abbreviations

APC	*Acts of the Privy Council*
CRP	*Correspondence of Reginald Pole*
CSPDM	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Mary*
CSPFM	*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign: Mary*
CSP Span	*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*
CSP Ven	*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*
s.d.	*Sine datum* (without date)
s.l.	*Sine loco* (without place of publication)
s.n.	*Sine nomine* (without name of publisher)

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A Note on Translations and Conventions

This study relies heavily on the Latin writings of Nicolaus Mameranus and a number of other contemporary authors, and, to a lesser degree, on the occasional extract written in either French or Italian. In the interest of making these available to a wider community of scholars, and to ensure that this is done as transparently as possible, I have chosen to include the source material in both its original language and in an English translation. Where it has been possible to do so, I have transcribed and translated from the original manuscripts and printed volumes rather than use modern scholarly editions. All transcriptions and translations are the result of my own work except where otherwise noted, and as such any errors that remain therein are my own. I have, however, gratefully received the assistance of Adam Clay and Faiza Hadji with translation from French, of Consuelo Martino from Italian, and of Luc Dietz and Gary Vos from Latin. Substantial extracts from *Beso Las Manos* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1557), *Gratulatorium* (Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1555), *Psalmi Davidis quinque* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1557), and *Oratio Dominica* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1557), all by Mameranus, are presented independently in Appendices 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. These are the result of a collaborative translation effort by myself and Gary Vos and are therefore noted as co-authored. Because they are presented side by side with the original Latin in the appendices, I have not found it necessary to include the original Latin in the body of the study. Readers are directed to the relevant appendix should they wish to consult the translation.

Throughout the study the spelling of book titles has remained as in the originals, an exception being the letters i, j, u, and v, which have been modernized. Spelling for all quotations has remained exactly as in the originals, except punctuation has been modernized.

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Introduction

On 20 March 1557, the Luxembourgian poet Nicolaus Mameranus arrived in England for the first and only time.[1] He was at the height of his literary prestige, having recently been crowned Poet Laureate and ennobled Count Palatine at Charles V's grand abdication ceremony in Brussels, the last of only twelve men to whom the emperor personally granted such an honour.[2] As Charles retired to a monastery in Yuste, Spain, at the beginning of the year, Mameranus left his service and joined the emperor's son, Philip II, and his courtly entourage on its way to London for the king's second and final journey to see his wife, Mary I. The visit lasted just four months because Philip was there primarily to enlist the country in the ongoing Habsburg-Valois War and was eager to join his forces at St. Quentin in France. Mameranus, whose formative years had been spent chronicling Imperial military expeditions, remained unusually quiet on such matters, however.[3] It was the English queen who instead inspired his verse and, through the London printing press of Thomas Marshe, he became industrious, publishing three collections of his Latin poetry, a scintilla in a thirty-year literary career that at its close would comprise over fifty publications throughout

1 The poet was probably born with the surname Wagener (or Vagner), though he took the name Mameranus after his native town of Mamer near Luxembourg. His first name has recently been spelled with the letter "k", but I follow the author's own Latinized spelling (used in both his German and Latin publications). See Jules Vannérus, "Nicolas Mameranus et sa famille", in *Biographie nationale du pays de Luxembourg*, ed. J. Mersch, vol. 2 (Luxembourg: 1949), 297–321, at 299–301.

2 "Mameranus (Mamerani), Niclas, Aus Luxemburg, Kaiserlicher Diener, Palatinat Ad Personam, Kaiserlicher Hofdienertitel, Salva Guardia", October 25, 1555, fols. 1–12, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv AT-OeStA/AVA Adel RAA 260.32, reproduced and discussed in Nikolaus Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus, ein Luxemburger Humanist des XVI. Jahrhunderts am Hofe der Habsburger: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: 1915), 89–90, 297–304. For a list of the poets Charles crowned, see John Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook* (Berlin and New York: 2006), 1: xciii. Unless otherwise noted, short titles for all of Mameranus's works will be used in the footnotes. Readers may refer to Appendix 5 for full bibliographical information.

3 Nicolaus Mameranus, *Iter Caesaris ex inferiore Germania ab anno 1545* (Augsburg: 1547); *Catalogus omnium Primorum* (Ingolstadt: 1548); *Kurtzer Bericht Welcher Gestalt Kaiser Carl Der Fünfft* (Augsburg, 1548). These are just three examples; see the bibliography in Appendix 5 for the full list. For his role as a military chronicler, particularly his access to the Imperial Chancery, and his renown as a popular and reliable author, see Henry de Vocht, "Chapter XIX: II. Students", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 12, History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550, Part the Third: The Full Growth (Leuven: 1954): 458–529, at 466–470.

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Europe.[4] Bound in the situational context of the sojourn and the realities of their production, these works are unique objects of cultural exchange transacted at one of the most sensitive and yet seldom studied political conjunctions of Mary's reign.

In a lengthy dedication to the queen, he wrote that the "prostrate Imperial poet Mameranus … asks that her sacred royal Majesty accepts him into her calm favour, amidst her subjects".[5] Weeks later he realised that literary supplication in person, coming before her to recommend himself on 16 May and again six days later as she left the royal chapel with her husband. From his vast oeuvre he presented to her many "studious efforts of his", asking that she accept them "kindly": seven books (three fresh from the London press) and two letters proffering his counsel, the largest literary gift Mary ever received during her time as queen.[6]

Mameranus wrote confidently, praising and admonishing the queen with a conviction born of experience. His literary addressees already included Philip II, Charles V, the entire Habsburg Council of Finance, Anton Fugger (successor to the wealthiest banking dynasty in Europe at the time), Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, the Prince-Bishop and Cardinal of Augsburg, and Paul Pfinzing, the Secretary of German Affairs for Philip, many of whom Mameranus counted among his patrons. He hoped to add Mary to that list, and his presentation was designed to display to her each facet of his literary talent and so suggest his potential as a poet laureate in her service. Three catalogues bound in a single volume showed her his work as a royal historiographer, his meticulous statistical collations recorded while he accompanied Charles on his military expeditions in the Smalkaldic Wars, and they also proved the access he had to the Habsburg court and his familiarity with its courtiers. Not by chance, one of the catalogues contained a charter, "The Privilege of the Emperor granted to Nicolaus Mameranus", which displayed his prerogative to publish as an official mouthpiece of the emperor.[7] As well as chronicling, Mameranus eulogized rulers and members of the nobility in eloquent,

4 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque* (London: 1557); *Beso Las Manos* (London: 1557); *Oratio Dominica* (London: 1557).

5 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aii.

6 "rogat, ut Serenissima Regina haec ipsius studia benigne suscipere animo dignetur, eumque in suam gratiam sibi habere commendatum", quoting from the second letter, Nicolaus Mameranus, "Petition 2, List of Books", National Archives SP 11/14. no. 13, fol. 38. For the first, see "Petition 1", National Archives SP 11/14, no. 12, fols. 32–37.

7 "*Privilegium Caesareum Nic. Mamerano concessum*", in Mameranus, *Catalogus omnium Generalium* (Cologne: 1550), sigs. aii-iv. The two other catalogues were *Catalogus Familiae totius* (Cologne: 1550), and *Catalogus expeditionis rebellium* (Cologne: 1550).

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heroic verse, and as an example he gifted Mary an epithalamium, written a few months prior to his laureation, that celebrated her marriage to Philip on 25 July 1554.[8] Other works display his theological education and traditional piety: a new edition of the Church Father Radbertus Paschasius, a brief catechism, and an argument on the efficacy of confession, each suggesting positions traceable to his time in the Catholic bulwark of Cologne and its university, an institution where he was both educated and an approbated researcher.[9] Though his own natural leaning was towards an ascetic life of devout contemplation (or at least he claimed it was), Mameranus was drawn to Mary's Catholic Reformation and to the *vita activa* (active life) of its promotion.[10] He publicly exclaimed that he saw her religious policy as a leading light in the European Catholic restoration, and said that his own duty, as a man who was "ever loving and very studious of a good and well constituted public polity of Kingdoms and Cities", was to aid her in that work. To that end his gift included counsel on her queenship.[11] As if more were needed, he also showed her that he could be an economist, a numismatist, a satirist, and a mediator of courtly etiquette.[12]

Christopher Warner is the only scholar in the past century to give Mameranus's endeavours at the Marian court serious scrutiny. This dearth of previous scholarship may be in part because of the complex Latin verse in which Mameranus wrote, and because he often composed quickly.[13] Working passages for specific occasions under challenging circumstances, he made mistakes, offered unusual word choices, and even invented terms. Moreover, extant copies of

8 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium* (Cologne: 1555).

9 Mameranus, ed., *Paschasii de corpore et sanguine Domini* (Cologne: 1550); *Oratio Dominica*; *Confessio delictorum* (Augsburg: 1553). He was also educated at Emmerich School in his early years and, after graduating from Cologne on 15 March 1533, attended the Collegium Trilingue Loveniense from 16 May 1537. For records of his matriculation in Louvain, see Arnold Schillings, ed., *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, vol. 4 (Brussels: 1961), 175. I am grateful to J. Christopher Warner for the reference.

10 Letter 1 in Mameranus, "Nicolai Mamerani Epistolae IV", in *Sylloge anecdotorum omnis aevi chronicorum, diplomatum, epistolarum, commentationum, historias et res germanicas exterasque, civiles et ecclesiasticas, illustrantium*, ed. Christoph Friedrich Ayrmann, vol. 1 (Frankfurt: 1746), 415–423, at 415–416. Mameranus's ideal lifestyle is described in *Formula auspicandi* (Cologne: 1550), but he did not give this to Mary.

11 "bonae & bene constitutae politiae publicae Regnorum et Civitatum, semper amans et perstudiosus", in Mameranus, "Petition 1", fol. 34; Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*.

12 Mameranus, "Petition 1", fols. 32–37; "De Leone et Asino" and "Beso Las Manos", in Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos*, sigs. Bi(v)–ii(v).

13 His *Gratulatorium*, for example, congratulated Philip on his arrival in Belgium on 5 September 1555, and was published in Cologne before the end of the year.

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his poetry are rare, and there are numerous gaps in his bibliography.[14] If these obstacles were not enough, like so many Catholic authors writing in the post-Lutheran, pre-Tridentine era (in England and farther afield), his work was considered for a long time an inadequate response to the assaults of contemporary Protestant writers.[15] In 2010, Warner transcribed and translated one of the letters Mameranus gave to the queen that vaguely itemised the gift of books. Thanks to Warner's diligent bibliographical research, the present study has a ready collection of source material, the locations of extant copies now verified.[16] Warner recently returned to Mameranus and surveyed the three books that Marshe printed in London to provide literary and "book history context" for his study on Richard Tottel's *Miscellany* (the *Songs and Sonnets*), an influential collection of English verses also printed in 1557. A short subchapter on Mameranus provides technical explanations of the poet's preferred meter (the dactylic hexameter, or 'heroic verse'), and a useful summary of each poem's content alongside some select translations.[17] Warner argues effectively that Tottel's *Miscellany* was a bid for the English language as a worthy medium for poetry, an offer "to lay down the foundation stones for a community of English literati" as a sort of patriotic retaliation against the backdrop of foreign poets at the Marian court who thought of the English as barely civilized. Particularly, these poets included the Spanish *caballeros* who had accompanied Philip on his first voyage to Marian England in 1554. Languishing in the English court, they had written eloquent verses that were "lightyears" away from any contemporary English poetry, scorning their hosts as barbarous, and prompting the publication of Tottel's Miscellany "to the honour of the Englishe tong".[18]

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14 The Appendices are an attempt to begin redressing both of these problems by providing some translations and a new, more complete, bibliography.

15 The general paucity in this area of study was noticed early on by Johannes Janssen, *A History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. A.M. Christie, vol. 14 (London: 1909), 239–240. Scholars still often see little of worth in the writing of these authors: see David V.N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis: 1991), 4–10.

16 J. Christopher Warner, "A Gift of Books from the Emperor's Poet Laureate to Queen Mary", *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 11, no. 3 (2010): 345–349. Warner's work updates the information in C.S. Knighton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series of the Reign of Mary I, 1553–1558, Preserved in the Public Record Office*, Rev. ed. (London: 1998), 272–274; Robert Lemon, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547–1580* (London: 1856), 113.

17 J. Christopher Warner, *The Making and Marketing of Tottel's Miscellany, 1557: Songs and Sonnets in the Summer of the Martyrs' Fires* (Farnham: 2013), 86–94.

18 Hyder Edwards Rollins, ed., *Tottel's Miscellany* (*1557–1587*), 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: 1965), 2; Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 5–7, 62–86.

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It is in the company of these Spaniards that Warner first introduces Mameranus. Together, he argues, they were foreigners "jealously … guarding membership in an elite literati circle" from their hosts. I do not deny Warner's well-supported argument that Mameranus's "expert Latinity" would have been a stark contrast to contemporary English verse, and that, like that of the Spanish *caballeros*, his own poetry, published as it was by Marshe, a competitor of Tottel, may have prompted a patriotic response. I do, however, take issue with the unsubstantiated characterization of Mameranus from a contemporary English perspective, where even by Warner's own admission it was "sorely tempting to imagine" what the English thought. Here, natives "grumble" at a "know-it-all" Mameranus who had taken his poet laureate act on the road and admonished English readers with presumptive and "irksome" verses, who commended himself to the queen in an offensive manner, and who was just a "salaried cheerleader, whose tone was unmistakably that of a foreigner revelling in England's humiliation".[19] Was this what the English thought of him? The fact is, we have no evidence for such opinions, and even Warner himself asks, why would Marshe print such poetry if it were likely to be received so unfavourably? Of course, nowhere is the reader asked to believe that Mameranus actually was any of these things, but a lackadaisical one might be tempted to take the statements unquestioningly. This is problematic when so few other studies of the author exist in English.[20]

Certainly, variety and a kind of bravura self-promotion distinguish Mameranus's gift to the queen, as they do the rest of his oeuvre, and Warner is not the first to portray the poet as an arrogant chauvinist. In the years after his visit to Mary, Mameranus's confidence would begin to manifest itself more often as invective, and by the generation after his death, some poets mockingly remembered him as arrogant.[21] The historiography that exists (aside from being incommensurate with his output and his exploits generally, and being largely uninterested in the English visit) also conjectures that he was a jack-

19 The humiliation, here, being the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations. Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 92, 94.

20 Vocht, "Students" is one example, though it does not dwell primarily on Mameranus's time in England. Linda Porter mentions Mameranus in passing, suggesting that he was "shocked at the intemperance he witnessed" in England in *Mary Tudor: The First Queen* (London: 2007), 230. Valerie Schutte gives a very brief overview of Mameranus's dedication, but her research relies primarily on the two articles by Warner, in *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* (New York: 2015), 114.

21 Aegidius Periander, *Gemania Aegidii Periandri, in qua Doctissimorum Virorum Elogia, et Judicia Continentur Quibus Addita Sunt in Singulos Authores et Viros Doctos Eiusdem Judicia et Encomia* (Frankfurt am Main: 1567), 646.

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of-all-trades, vulgar, eccentric, and therefore undeserving of study. The story handed down to us originates from, and is predominated by, the curt summary of Pierre-François Sweerts, a cataloguer in the early 17th century at whose hands Mameranus's posthumous reputation has suffered greatly:

> A laureate, but vulgar. He never appeared in public without his laurels, and he called himself the *mamma* of Maro [i.e. the 'breast of Virgil'].[22] He flourished in the Court of Emperor Charles V. As an old man he began to be delirious, so that he was entertainment for all men.[23]

Later commenters such as Valerius Andreas Desselius, Johann Heinrich Zedler, and Joannis Francisci Foppens repeated the same story almost verbatim, the first adding that he was "a facetious and jovial man", no doubt thinking of passages in early editions of *Beso Las Manos*, or even *Strena Nicolai Mamerani*.[24] Such characterization lasted into the early 19th century, largely because only a small fraction of Mameranus's works was known, leading to an overreliance on the analysis of previous cataloguers.[25] Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp, founder of the subjective method of textual criticism (the same historian who declared much of Horace's *Odes* to be spurious) was most critical with the least amount of evidence. Citing a singular, short, and particularly invective extract, he decided that the poet was an example of the declining respectability of the tradition of poetic laureation in the post-Petrarchan era. "An exceptional outrage!", he wrote, and coming back again a few years later, further incensed, he changed his conclusion to: "an exceptional and memorable outrage!"[26] Half

22 He refers to Mameranus's comments in *Strena Nicolai Mamerani* (Brussels: 1560), 13. See Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 250.

23 "NICOLAVS MAMERANVS Lucemburgensis Orator, & Poeta, Laureatus, sed vulgaris. Sine laurea in publicum nunquam prodibat, seque mammam Maronis vocabat. Floruit in Aula Caesaris Caroli V. Senex, delirare coepit, vt omnibus ludus esset", Pierre-François Sweerts, *Athenae Belgicae* (Antwerp: 1628), 578.

24 "vir facetus et jocosus", Valerius Andreas Desselius, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Louvain: 1642), 691–692; Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos*, 1st ed. (Cologne: 1550); Mameranus, *Strena Nicolai Mamerani*; Joannis Francisci Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica, sive virorum in Belgio vita, scriptisque illustrium catalogus, librorumque nomenclatura*, vol. 2 (Brussels: 1730), 914; Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künst*, vol. 19 (Leipzig: 1739), 818–819.

25 Notably by Vincenzo Lancetti, though he admitted he was only copying earlier authors. See *Memorie intorno ai poeti laureati d'ogni tempo e d'ogni nazione* (Milan: 1839), 410–411. Another typical retelling is found in A. Beuchot, "Nicolas Mameranus", in *Biografia universale antica e moderna*, vol. 35 (Venice: 1827), 56.

26 "Egregium facinus!", Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp, *Expositio Quaestionis Ab Academia Bruxellensi Propositae, de Vita Ac Doctrina Omnium Belgarum, Qui Latina Carmina Composuerunt*

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a century later, authors were still doing little to deny these accusations. They thought his literary endeavours hardly worth pursuing because he wrote only for money and the favour of great men.[27]

It is in small part my intention to reconsider these early claims that Mameranus was an extraordinarily proud, eccentric joker clinging to a degraded title. But to a greater extent my aim is to reexamine the charge that his literary efforts hold scant value for scholars of literature and history. I do this not by trying to judge his character, however, but by evaluating his writing as resources—namely as historical and literary artefacts reflecting on their contemporary environment. I situate the author according to modern scholarship on self-constructed poet laureate identities and appreciate the self-serving elements of his oeuvre (his occasional poetry, his eulogies, his attempts to acquire patronage, and generally his works previously dismissed as Habsburg propaganda) as fairly unexceptional facets of the early modern laureate tradition.[28] That is not to say that everything about his poetry was unexceptional. This book is more than just a case study in early modern poet laureates (though it hopes to be of some use in that regard). It recognizes the works too for their exceptionalities, and takes to heart the words of Nikolaus Didier, Mameranus's most exhaustive biographer: "Mameranus would scarcely deserve a monograph if

(Brussels: 1822), 48–49; he cites Janus Gruterus, *Delitiae c. Poetarvm Belgicorvm. Tertia Pars* (Frankfurt: 1614), 386–396. For his later alterations ("Egregium et memorabile facinus!"), see *Liber de Vita Doctrina et Facultate Nederlandorum Qui Carmina Latina Composerunt. Edito Altera Emendata et Aucta* (Harlem: 1838), 54.

27 Scholars began to recognize that there was value to some of his works, even if it was just his historical prose on the Schmalkaldic Wars. August von Druffel, *Des Viglius van Zwichem Tagebuch des Schmalkaldischen Donaukriegs* (Munich: 1877), 10–12; George Voigt, *Die Geschichtschreibung über den Schmalkaldischen Krieg* (Leipzig: 1874), 63–65. Some French authors during the late 19th century expressed a more favourable opinion of his poetry, though they admitted having only the poet's own generous evaluations of himself upon which to evidence their claims. Alphonse Roersch, "Nicolas de Mamer", in *Biographie Nationale: Publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, vol. 15 (Brussels: 1899), 686–691, at 686; August Neyen, *Biographie Luxembourgeoise* (Luxembourg: 1860), 394.

28 As Flood has noted, for example, poets had a self-fashioned role not only to eulogize their leaders but also to use their verse to record historical narrative in the correct political light, memorializing it for future generations. These great deeds and the princes responsible for them provided an exemplar from which contemporaries and future rulers might draw their moral philosophy, meaning that would-be laureate poets were simultaneously counsellors, propagandists, and chroniclers. Flood, *Poets Laureate*, clxxxiv–v; Christof Ginzel, *Poetry, Politics and Promises of Empire: Prophetic Rhetoric in the English and Neo-Latin Epithalamia on the Occasion of the Palatine Marriage in 1613* (Amsterdam: 2009), 115–116.

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he had merely been a follower of the general humanist swarm, or would only reflect the intellectual currents of that era".[29]

In the first place, Mameranus is unusual for taking such an avid interest in Marian England, and an early chapter examines several letters that the poet wrote to his patron, Günther, Count of Schwarzburg (1529–1583), in 1554 in which he discusses the political and religious events occurring there and requests commendation to the queen. From these, and from the correspondence of other Imperial statesmen, I reconstruct Mameranus's early conceptions of England and its emerging place within Habsburg political discourse, and consider why such a courtier, recently celebrated as a loyal servant to Habsburg interests, would want to leave the court in Brussels and secure a place at the one in London. Following this line of exploration, the next chapter examines a wedding song for Philip and Mary that the poet composed that year and his narrative, set in heroic verse, of the Spanish prince's journey to meet his wife.[30] These provide a rare insight into how the royal couple's representational strategies were received abroad, and work to contextualize the marriage within a wider conversation about Imperial dynasty and Catholic Reformation. Far from concluding, as do many studies that focus primarily on a Spanish as opposed to a Netherlandish Imperial perspective, that for Philip the union was "synonymous with diminished political authority" due to Mary's status as queen regnant, these opening chapters reveal that many in Brussels saw the comonarchy as increasing the new king's status, naturalizing him to a Northern European geopolitical sphere and so increasing his prospects as future ruler of the Netherlands, and finally as establishing England and its queen as a viable and autonomous ally in the fight to counter both French incursion and Protestant pervasion.[31]

The scope of the study then shifts to the time that Mameranus spent in England, and its central chapters consider those works that he brought with him from the Continent and gave to the royal couple, and also those he printed when he arrived. It views them as an exceptional example of the transmission of political ideology, religious belief, poetic tradition, and standards of courtly etiquette between the Habsburg Empire and England during the later years

29 "Mameranus würde kaum eine Monographie verdienen, wenn er blos ein Nachtreter des allgemeinen Humanistenschwarmes gewesen wäre oder nur die Geistesströmungen jener Epoche wiederspiegeln würde", Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 1–2.

30 Both found within Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*.

31 Anna Maria López, "'Great Faith Is Necessary to Drink from This Chalice': Philip II in the Court of Mary Tudor, 1554–58", in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, eds. Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez (Farnham: 2015), 115–138, at 135.

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of Mary's reign. Instead of focusing on 1557 as the year in which Marian England began its decline into warfare and famine, marked by the queen's second false pregnancy, her problems with the papacy, and her eventual death, as even many revisionist studies do, it looks at the religious and political atmosphere during this year through the eyes of one well-informed foreigner who saw the situation as hopeful and progressive.[32] While the majority of Philip's entourage in England were notoriously derogatory of Mary and her countrymen, and the friction between each side at court is widely reported on by historians, I ask: why did Mameranus idealize her as the saviour of European Catholicism? Was this merely hyperbole, or did it reflect a genuine (perhaps even achievable) political and religious aspiration? And in *Beso Las Manos* in particular, why did he strive to facilitate cordial relations between the English and their Spanish counterparts? Was he the only person to do so during this later period? Through a close analysis of Philip's arrival, and a reassessment of the Marian court during the fleeting period in which Mameranus was present (an analysis anchored by his literature but supported by the voices of other rarely heard visitors to London), I reject the familiar, disparaging narratives about the closing stages of Mary's reign. Instead I propose an image of a diverse and dynamic court at the heart of a flourishing metropolis that in 1557 held the gaze of both the Habsburg Empire and its adversaries, and which was governed by a royal couple at the pinnacle of the most powerful political union in Europe at the time, each hoping that their marriage was the beginning of a new Anglo-Habsburg dynasty.

Later in the book, one of the three works Mameranus printed in London, the *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, forms the primary example in an examination of Catholic political thought in a mid-century, post-Reformation environment. This examination is sorely needed, since current histories of political thought throughout early modern Europe focus predominantly on the developments of Protestant reformers, and those that look at the English narrative write only on those Marian exiles who wrote resistance literature against their queen.[33] Mameranus's text, however, is evidence of a Catholic tradition of political

32 David Loades, *Mary Tudor* (Stroud: 2012), 202; Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: 2009), 286–300; Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London: 2008), 212–227; M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Hapsburg Authority, 1551–1559* (Cambridge: 1988), 195.

33 For just two examples of this trend, see Michael Baylor, "Political Thought in the Age of the Reformation", in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Political Thought*, ed. George Klosko (Oxford: 2011), 227–245; Glenn Burgess, *British Political Thought, 1500–1660* (Basingstoke: 2009), 57–72.

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thought that for its effects drew heavily on the princely humanism of the preceding generation of scholars (notably Erasmus and his contemporaries), and which was able to adapt their arguments about the reform of Christianity and of Christian polities to a new, largely confessionalized religious environment. Mameranus's psalms, printed first for members of Philip's financial council and then adapted in London for Mary, coexisted as an act of counsel within two distinct spheres, revealing a strong correlation between the political ideologies concurrent in these polities, and also, importantly, suggesting their forms of transmission.

A further focus of this book is religion, both that of the Marian Church and of Mameranus himself. Rather than attempting to provide an overview of either, a vast task, I consider only those subjects that Mameranus chose to emphasize in the works he presented to Mary. Again, the comparison and potential transmission of beliefs is central to the chapter. Rather than look at the influence of the Spanish clergymen and theologians Philip brought to England in 1554, a study already done, and rather than offer analyses against a generalised view of European Catholicism (typically taken from landmark statements of doctrine such as the Council of Trent), I draw a comparison with a localized case study of Continental belief—Mameranus in Cologne. In doing so I question the current argument that the Marian Church developed a Catholic Reformation theology and spirituality that was completely unified with that which was developing throughout Europe.[34] My aim is not to deny links, nor to suggest that there were no universally held Catholic beliefs during that time (transubstantiation, if only the idea and not the name, was, of course, one) but I hope to give a more complex and nuanced account of the situation, not least to reflect how complicated it was for all Catholics trying to reform their faith in the wake of the Protestant Reformation. I do this by considering the religious books and counsel that Mameranus brought with him as an attempt to homogenise belief and religious policy across the international Catholic community, and by examining the difficulties he faced while in London.

In the final chapter I make the first analysis of the funeral service held for Mary in Brussels, relying for evidence on a report previously unknown to Mameranus's biographers that he wrote about the obsequies for Charles V, Mary of Hungary, and the English queen. Alongside an examination of the renowned preacher François Richardot's sermon for the occasion and another anonymous work on the event, I construct a narrative of the memorialization of Mary's

34 Argued most influentially by William Wizeman throughout his book, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: 2006), but see in particular the comments on page 251 and 252.

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death that acts as an important counter to the predominantly Anglocentric accounts provided by historians so far.[35] This narrative rejects the notion that Mary's reign was quickly forgotten as her half-sister Elizabeth acceded to the throne, and sets the conclusion of her life in the setting that she had always strived for: one of connection to a European, Catholic Church and to the Habsburg Empire.

At the outset, it is worth bearing in mind some structural choices. I have deliberately withheld until it is most relevant and useful to my argument certain background information on Mameranus that in a traditional biography might have come at the beginning. The poet's early-career humanist endeavours are currently outlined in chapter five because it is there that they most clearly inform his attempts to provide Mary with a distinctly Erasmian form of counsel during his time in England. And I provide the picture of his daily religious life in the city of Cologne in chapter six rather than earlier because I believe it to be that particular experience that most heavily influences the subject of that chapter: his appraisal of the Marian reformation and the type of religious texts he chose to introduce to the London court in 1557. A text by text, thematic structure governs what follows.[36] However, we ought to remember that, whilst this division is the best way to analyse each text in its informing contexts for the modern reader, it is not one that reflects Mameranus's own, often eclectic-seeming, working methods. I have approached his texts thematically, using one to illuminate a chapter on patronage and poet laureates, another to cast light on the author's political thought, and others for his approach to theology or spirituality. But the texts do not themselves practice such self-disciplined focus. Mameranus can switch in one breath from talking in a polite, almost obsequious tone on the current economic durability of royally minted coins to brazen invective deriding drunkards and those who do not attend church regularly. He can rejoice at the religious reformation in England whilst a verse later pouring scorn on its inhabitants for being the least faithful Christians in all Christendom. I hope, however, that what emerges is a greater understanding of how such seemingly diverse texts share a set of core beliefs, and that by analysing what divides and unifies them we come to know more not just about Mameranus, but about Marian England during this relatively underresearched period.

35 Carolyn Colbert, "'Mary Hath Chosen the Best Part': The Bishop of Winchester's Funeral Sermon for Mary Tudor", in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, eds. Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (Farnham: 2015), 273–292.

36 Those readers who desire a more traditionally structured approach to the poet might consult Didier's biography, *Nikolaus Mameranus*.

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CHAPTER 1

The Last Laureate of Charles V: A New Approach to the Writing of Nicolaus Mameranus

On 25 October 1555, the date of his abdication, Charles V decided to ennoble Mameranus as Count Palatine and to award him the poetic laurels. This was perhaps tardy recognition for his loyal, unremunerated servant of more than two decades, but certainly it was a fitting reward for an author who by this point had composed dozens of encomiastic tributes to Habsburg glory. It was also an excellent way for the emperor to guarantee that one of his trusted supporters would remain at the heart of his son's court as the new empire took shape. Six years later, in his only extant image, Mameranus was still flaunting his prize, wearing the laurel wreath prominently upon his brow for a portrait at the beginning of the *Oratio pro Memoria*, a work he wrote in defence of his oratorical and poetic prowess. Beneath his image, an octastichon attributed to the poet Nicolaus Valerius Hugonellus announces that its subject was "adorned with the splendour of the Castalians [i.e. the Muses] … And if you ask further (Reader) why laurels encircle his temples? Such wreathes are fitting for the grandisonant". Later in the text the "grandisonant" poet lectured at length on his right to wear the crown in public just as Homer and Virgil had once supposedly done.[1]

Both historians and his own contemporaries have mocked Mameranus for his ostentation: for parading his laureate persona, for comparing himself to Virgil by using the title "*mamma Maronis*", and for refusing to orate in public without wearing his laurels.[2] Mameranus himself often provides the evidence for these charges, such as when he wrote an account of his participation at the University of Louvain's *Disputationes Quodlibeticae* in 1560. He had been given the invitation to speak at the exhibition and, when he appeared before

1 "Illa gerit vultus placidos, ornata nitore / Castalidum … / Et mage si poscas (Lector) quur Laurea cingant / Tempora? grandisonos talia serta decent", Nicolaus Mameranus, *Oratio pro Memoria* (Brussels: 1561), sigs. ai(v), biii(v)–iv.

2 One of the more amusing jibes was by Aegidius Periander in 1567, who questioned the origins of the milk that the *mamma* of Maro was getting, and concluded that "he perhaps lacks clearer judgement" ("Iudicio forsan candidiore caret"), in his *Gemania Aegidii Periandri*, 646; Sweerts, *Athenae Belgicae*, 578; Neyen, *Biographie Luxembourgeoise*, 394–395; Beuchot, "Nicolas Mameranus", 56.

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the throng of students, professors, and the rector, he wore his laurel crown proudly upon his head. The crowd were perhaps expecting a verse recitation from the poet laureate, but he instead treated them to a lengthy prose oration about memory and its integrity to the instruction of eloquent rhetoric. He spoke critically of the university's habit of allowing its students to hold disputations *ex charta* (from paper), and particularly of the academic staff, whom he criticised for allowing this practice into the curriculum, for failing to set a good example, and for being the reason their students lacked interest in their studies.[3] This tirade naturally incensed both the students and the professors alike, and, when the poet's memory failed him as he quoted Cato, they became almost riotous. Over the following days, many speeches were prepared that took him to task for his mean jests, his mistakes both of memory and of grammar, his supposedly invented words, and, in particular, his having the audacity to come before them wearing the laurels and yet refusing to recite any poetry. Andrew Cawet, the *primus philosophorum* of that year, attacked him with such thorough and harsh invective that the Regent of the *Paedagogium Porcense*, Henry Verrept [Verepaeus], invited Mameranus to a meal and some wine as an apology for the lambasting.[4]

Mameranus published his *Oratio pro Memoria* with its portrait of him wearing the laurels in the following year in an attempt to answer the charges levelled against him. He defended his use of these supposedly fictitious words, justified his jokes by claiming they were not nearly as bitter as what had been said by Cawet, and set about attempting to restore his reputation after what had clearly been an embarrassing intellectual defeat. Speaking about his laurel crown, he wrote that

> the Poet and Orator are to such extent relations and neighbours to each other in profession, why is it not fitting when one moves in exchanges with the other, when he goes forth with the other's insignias? Especially when each of them could be a Poet and an Orator at the same time? Did it therefore not befit the Poet to show himself in public with the laurel wreath, when he was about to carry out the work of the Orator? I believe that even Homer and Virgil themselves, if they were to usurp for themselves the office of orating, never would have appeared in public without

3 At the time, the university thought it proper to allow *ex charta* disputation because it helped foster more intellectual arguments, supported by reliable notes, and helped avoid debaters simply repeating what they had learned from memory, and from the arguments devolving into *ad hominem* attacks and unoriginal ostentation.

4 Vocht, "Students", 477–479.

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> their laurel wreath. Petrarch and Enea Silvio [Piccolomini], who were simultaneously Poets and Orators, are reported never to have appeared in public to orate without the Laurel.[5]

Mameranus never hesitated to make such haughty comparisons throughout his career, and although they rarely won him admirers, they do indicate the solemn heritage he accorded his station as a laureate poet. But Mameranus was also a conflicted figure. He questioned his own ability to live up to the forebears of his title, often becoming exasperated by his own relationship to the profession and what it demanded of him in terms of encomia and a perpetual hunt for patronage. This acknowledgment of his own flaws and the flaws of his trade is a side of the poet rarely revealed, but which must be thoroughly understood if his writing, particularly that which he wrote about Mary and her country during the mid-1550s, is to escape the charges of aggrandized posturing and simplistic promotion of the Habsburg cause.

It was no coincidence that Mameranus referred to Petrarch in his *Oratio pro Memoria* as the model who could justify his behaviour at the *Disputationes Quodlibeticae*. The Italian poet, laureated in 1341 at the Capitol in Rome during the grandest ceremony of its kind, was the progenitor of all Renaissance poet laureates. He envisioned the crowned poet as "a self-determining artist who answers only to past models of excellence" and, in principle, receives his authority not from any worldly prince or senator, but from divine influence.[6] This legitimacy as a conduit for divine inspiration was ultimately a form of glory that poets constructed for themselves in their verse, but it was largely dependent upon their subject matter. As Petrarch had said, the poet's immortal glory is "twofold, for it includes both the immortality of the poet's own name, and the immortality of the names of those whom he celebrates".[7] The reality of this situation was that laureate poets were nearly always tied to someone in service, be it whoever awarded their laurels or the princes in whose realms they operated, and so their legitimacy as a divinely inspired poet was often offset by a

5 "Cum igitur Poeta & Orator tam sint sibi professione finitimi & affines, cur non deceat cum alter alterius subit vices, cum suis prodire insignibus? praesertim cum vterque simul & Poeta & Orator esse possit? Nunquid idcirco cum Lauro prodire Poetam dedeceat, cum Oratoris acturus est officium? Credo equidem ipsum Homerum & Virgilium, si orandi sibi munus vsurpassent, nequaque sine Lauro fuisse proditurus. Petrarcha & AEneas Syluius, qui simul fuere & Poeta & Oratores, nunquam sine Lauro ad orandum & in publicum prodisse feruntur", Mameranus, *Oratio pro Memoria*, sig. biii(v).

6 Robert J. Meyer-Lee, *Poets and Power from Chaucer to Wyatt* (Cambridge: 2007), 17.

7 Francesco Petrarch, "Petrarch's Coronation Oration", in *Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch*, trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Cambridge, Mass.: 1955), 300–313, at 307.

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pragmatic obligation to praise these potential benefactors—a need to temper their poetry to serve worldly affairs and so secure patronage.[8]

While all poets in the early modern period aspired to the divinely appointed independence that Petrarch first claimed in 1341, no one came as close as he to achieving it, and in the centuries following his laureation the crown became ever more subject to the whims and necessities of temporal affairs, particularly in the Holy Roman Empire. Under Frederick III, emperor from 1452 to 1493, awards of the poetic laurels were made to just a few of the most celebrated authors, each of whom the emperor personally crowned. However, once Maximillian I established the College of Poets and Mathematicians at the University of Vienna in 1501, and granted its Professor of Poetry (the preeminent German poet laureate, Conrad Celtis) the right to bestow the laureate title in his name, and especially once Celtis had subsequently bequeathed that right to the university upon his death, the laurels began to be awarded more prolifically. Also around this time, certain counts palatine were given the ability to grant the laurel crown, which significantly decentralised the title, further increasing the number of poet laureates as the century progressed. With this proliferation, the title became so little respected that when an applicant applied for it their work often went unread, and the process devolved into a common form of social recognition that cost nothing to bestow.[9] By the mid-17th century the title was so debased that the position was akin to a wandering bard, with laureate poets travelling between cities opportunistically seeking the patronage of wealthy individuals. There was even a saying that there were more crowned poets in Germany than there were real poets in all the rest of the world.[10]

Cognizant of the laurel crown's proliferation and decline, Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp spuriously asserted that Mameranus exemplified the degradation of the title's once proud Petrarchan roots, writing that "although Minerva was unwilling, Mameranus became a poet, whom that badge of honour robbed of all sense", and complaining of his vulgarity and ignorance of the Classics.[11] Peerlkamp's own words, however, are themselves symptomatic of the "laconic

8 Meyer-Lee, *Poets and Power*, 17–20.

9 John L. Flood, "'Foreshortened in the Tract of Time': Towards a Bio-Bibliography of Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire", *The Library* 8, no. 1 (1 March 2007): 3–24, at 12.

10 J.B. Trapp, "The Owl's Ivy and the Poet's Bays. An Enquiry into Poetic Garlands", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, no. 3/4 (1958): 227–255, at 251. Walter Hamilton also notes that the title "was so lavishly bestowed as to bring it into contempt" in *The Poets Laureate of England* (London: 1879), 4.

11 "invita Minerva, Mameranus factus est poeta, cui insigne illud omnem adeo mentem eripuit", Peerlkamp, *Expositio Quaestionis*, 49.

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dismissive generalization" of the Germanic laureate tradition and its poets that has plagued scholarship in the past, and that has hindered an appreciation of their poetry on an individual level.[12] He knew little of Mameranus or his oeuvre, and based his conclusions primarily on a short, invective extract against Protestants that he deemed unworthy of Petrarch's example. Instead of accepting such a ready dismissal based upon an anachronistic comparison with a poet who was not required to contend with the vicissitudes of Reformation polemic, and rather than evaluating whether or not the poet's stereotypical ridicule by Peerlkamp and others was justified, this chapter analyses Mameranus's own construction of his laureate persona by examining some of his self-reflective poetry. It then contextualizes the identity created in these works and his style of writing against a more historically considered survey of the laureate tradition in Germany in order to provide a nuanced picture of the poet and his crown in the setting in which he operated.[13]

In doing so, the chapter elucidates what Warner describes as Mameranus's "solemn sense of station", and explores what Paul Needham might have meant when he called Mameranus a "self-styled laureate poet" in a passing comment, even though it was the emperor himself who 'styled' him by awarding him the laurels.[14] Mameranus's own verse, in the *Gratulatorium*, the *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, and elsewhere betrays the sometimes difficult nature of balancing the dualism that Petrarch first outlined, since it strives to combine his own views with encomiastic rhetoric intended to earn him favour. But rather than simply accept this necessity, Mameranus chose to address directly the problem that he and other poets faced in his poem "Beso Las Manos". Its two distinct versions, which will be read not simply as a *lusus* (a piece of play or a jest), as they are usually, but rather as a complex satire of the poetic trade, were composed either side of his laureation.[15] As such, they provide a personal insight into the difficulties Mameranus faced as an aspiring poet and subsequently into the way in which he was forced to modify his verse to accommodate his title. Since Mameranus stated explicitly to Mary in 1557 that he was the "Emperor's Bard" and a "Poet Laureate", using the symbolic capital of these roles to frame his address to her, understanding his own perception of them in this manner reveals the advantages he expected to receive in England and also hints at some

12 Flood, "Tract of Time", 4.

13 This relies heavily on Flood, *Poets Laureate*.

14 Warner, "Gift of Books", 345; Paul Needham, "Review of *Bibles imprimées du XV^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle conservées à Paris … Catalogue collectif*, eds Martine Delaveau and Denise Hillard", *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 99, no. 1 (2005): 155–159, at 157.

15 Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 89.

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of the intentions behind his verses.[16] When combined with an analysis of the documentation surrounding his award, and one of the first manuscript poems he wrote as a laureate, a poet of far greater historical importance emerges than that which Peerlkamp described.

1 Satirizing the Laureate Tradition

In 1550 Mameranus was working prolifically in Cologne for his brother's printing press. During that time he edited a manuscript copy of *Coetus Poetarum*, a poem written by the Italian poet of the Roman Academy, Francesco Ottavio Cleofilo, who had flourished in the previous generation and whom Mameranus regarded as "an Author knowledgeable and most worthy".[17] Although this year was a particularly successful one for Mameranus as a poet, since he published several collections, he was yet to be recognized for his work with the laurel crown, and as he prepared his drafts he must have reflected on some of the complaints that Cleofilo had made of the laureate tradition and considered their relevance to his own time:

> Still, many temples are encircled with green laurel, and they buy the title and the names of 'sacred Bard'. Truly, they accept these shams from a strange Emperor, offices offered with the wrong intent by a barbarian hand.[18]

Cleofilo imagined himself meeting and discoursing with several poets and orators of antiquity in his poem, models of excellence whom he identified as the progenitors and guardians of the laureate tradition, and poets blessed and inspired by the Muses. These were worthy of the title of *sacri Vates* ("divinely inspired poets", or as translated here, "sacred Bards"), a term that neatly conceptualizes the ideal of poetic composition. They were poets, as Petrarch had said, whose verse originated not from "sheer toil and study" alone but also, quoting Cicero, who were "moved by the vigour of [their] own mind[s], and … inspired

16 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sigs. Ai, Aii; *Oratio Dominica*, sig. Ai.

17 "scitu digniss. Authore", Francesco Ottavio Cleofilo, *Coetus Poetarum*, ed. Nicolaus Mameranus (Cologne: 1550), sig. Ai.

18 "Multa tamen viridi cinguntur tempora lauro, / Et titulum & sacri nomina Vatis emunt. / Verum hos externo sumunt a Caesare fucos, / Munera barbarica non bene lata manu", ibid., sig. Avii.

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… by some divine frenzy" rather than subject to earthly authority.[19] Cleofilo felt that this once grand tradition no longer existed as "all hope of Bards fell", their poetry degraded because the "favour of the Aonides [Muses]" had retracted in his time.[20] In Germany in particular, the rapid proliferation of poet laureates contributed to the widespread belief that the existence of true *vates* was under threat, and Cleofilo distinguishes clearly what he believed to be the reasons for this.

> The cause of evil is a wicked hunger and a desire of gold, whomever gathers vain wealth at this time. That very money makes for inspiration and new verses; if someone has a sum of gold, he will be learned, but the truly learned are spurned …[21]

This was a popular theme among many neo-Latin satirists such as Petrus Montanus (1467/8–1507), Thomas Naogeorg (1508–1563), and Eilert Lübben (Eilhard Lubinus, 1565–1621), who based much of their rhetoric on the *Satires* of the Roman poet Juvenal (particularly his seventh).[22]

Mameranus, perhaps inspired by his contemporaries, turned also to classical satire to make a similar complaint against the poetic trade that same year in his *Beso Las Manos*. At a cursory glance, the poem appears to be an eloquent but innocuous turning of the Spanish phrase *beso las manos* (I kiss the hands), and for this reason it was, unfortunately, regarded superficially by Didier as a witticism in which Mameranus wrote "mocking jokes about people and objects"; by Needham as an "amusing account"; and by Jules Vannérus as just one of a number of "little poems devoted to the most trivial subjects".[23] The poem is

19 Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta*, 18. Cf. Petrarch, "Oration", 301. The Christian interpretation of the term *vates* was explained by the Church Father Isidore of Seville. See J.A. Beach et al., eds., "God, Angels, and Saints (*De Deo, Angelis et Sanctis*)", in *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 153–172, at 166. A good introduction to the term is found under the heading "*Furor Poeticus*" in Roland Greene et al., eds., *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 4th ed. (Princeton: 2012), 531–533.

20 "Spes omnis Vatum cecidit", "Concidit Aonidum te moriente fauor", Cleofilo, *Coetus Poetarum*, sig. Aii(v).

21 "Causa mali scelerata fames, aurique Cupido, / Quilibet hoc vanas tempore cogit opes. / Ingenium atque nouos facit ipsa pecunia versus, / Aurea si quis habet pondera, doctus erit, / Spernuntur docti", ibid., sig. Avii.

22 Sari Kivistö, "Verse Satire", in *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Victoria Moul (Cambridge: 2017), 148–162, at 151–152.

23 "… als Sammelplätze für ihren spöttischen Witz uber Personen und Gegenstände", Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 234–235; Needham, "Review", 157, n. 4; "à composer de petites poésies consacrées aux sujets les plus futiles", Vannérus, "Nicolas Mameranus", 311. I discuss the

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undoubtedly humorous, poking fun at Spanish courtly etiquette, but on closer inspection there can be found an erudite satire on the laureate tradition and a delicate treatment of the tensions inherent to the poetic profession. In a passage packed with allusions, Mameranus writes:

> indeed few give gifts to poets in return for a poem, among high Magnates, and powerful Lords … And most of them do not value the sacred Muses with the fountain and Apollo any higher than the Jewish people do a pig: or as much as we everywhere value the cattle of Arcadia. *Maecenates* of bards, as in the old days, and Patrons of students, from their heart, are very rare and astonishingly are even rarer in our day. Often Gelotopius, who could produce dull and crass laughter, brings golden gifts from the dirty cook [*coquusue*], or the stinking pimp [*leno*], or the quack doctors [*pharmacopola*]. But the Bard alone carries off nothing for a pleasant poem, except for *Beso Las Manos*; for they rather enjoy caring about Bacchus [wine] and Ceres [bread], and grand goblets, and prettier nags [*caballos*], than study and books, than poems, and Poets. Bards, on the contrary, do not care about their hollow garlands and helmets and the empty names of their stock.[24]

Gelotopius (Gk. *gelotopoios*) was an archetypal character in Greek literature, literally a 'laughter maker', a sort of professional joker who entertained dinner guests with a meal as his reward, though in this instance Mameranus is using

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more obvious subject matter of the Spanish phrase itself in the context of the updated version Mameranus chose to print in London in 1557 and present to Mary in ch. 4.

24 "Pauci etenim praestant pro carmine dona Poetis, / Inter Magnates celsos, Dominosque potentes … / Nec pluris faciunt, quam gens Iudaica porcum, / Permulti sacras cum fonte & Apolline Musas: / Aut quanti Arcadiae facimus pecuaria passim. / Nam Maecenates, ut prisco tempore, vatum, / Et studiosorum fido de corde Patroni / Perpauci, ac mire sunt nostro tempore rari. / Saepe Gelotopius, stolidos qui extundere risus. / Et crassos potuit, fert aurea dona, coquusve / Sordidus, aut leno, fragrans aut Pharmacopola: / At solus dulci fert nil pro carmine, praeter / Beso Las Manos, debetque hinc vivere Vates: / Nam potius Bacchum & Cererem, grandesque culullos, / Atque magis pulchros gaudent curare caballos, / Quam studia & libros, quam carmina, qu[a]mque Poetas. / Stemmata non curant horum quoque cassa vicissim / Et galeas, & stirpis inania nomina Vates", Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (4th ed., 1611), sigs. Aii(v)–iii. This edition is almost certainly a reprint of the now lost original of 1550, and all quotations in this chapter are from this 1611 edition unless otherwise noted. Such a reading is confirmed by the removal of this passage, a complaint about laureate poetry and poets, from the editions he was responsible for after his own laureation in 1555 and before his death c. 1567. See Appendix 1 for a full justification of the poem's version history.

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him figuratively to represent low or base forms of comedy. To the poet, this type of comedy was an intrusion into the verses of his contemporaries and unsuitable to what *vates* ought to write, a reflection only of what unworthy patrons desired. Specifically, the characters of the cook and the pimp allude to Plautus and his *Comedies*—perhaps also the "golden gifts" to his poem, *Aulularia* (The pot of gold)—which were achieving significant popularity in the 15th and 16th century alongside the comedies of Terence, whose writing had been traditionally preferred for its straightforward use of Latin, refined sense of humour, and less lewd content.[25] Plautus, on the other hand, represented for some authors the type of comedy that was primitive, and "somewhat crude [because] he uses certain harsh and obscure words".[26] Mameranus, whose own motto was "sober, pious, and just", believed that he refrained from such crass comedy in his own writing. Certainly he preferred to round out even his humorous poems like *Beso Las Manos* with stern moralising that typically guarded against salacious behaviour.[27] This, as the passage implies, was a noble but unfortunate quality to possess in a time when such sober verses were unappreciated, and Mameranus believed it distinguished him from other laureate poets who happily included Plautine elements in their repertoire. To a certain extent it may have done—even laureate poets as renowned as Enea Silvio Piccolomini (who went on to become Pope Pius II), Conrad Celtis, and Jacob Locher, each worked with Plautus.[28]

Saying that "nags" (*caballos*), among other things, are preferred to learning, Mameranus defined more subtly his complaint of his contemporaries. If he meant simply a "horse" the more common word was *equus*. Whilst this would have been impossible for metrical reasons, *caballos* is still unusual. It suggests an inferior animal, juxtaposed with "pretty" (*pulchros*), and in the context of

25 Richard F. Hardin, "Encountering Plautus in the Renaissance: A Humanist Debate on Comedy", *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2007): 789–818, at 793; Stefan Tilg, "Comedy", in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, eds. Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg (Oxford: 2015), 87–101, at 88. These authors were not always received solely as playwrights, but rather as models of morality and language also.

26 Andrea Navagero, *Comoediae Sex* (Brescia: 1565), 5(v), quoted in Hardin, "Encountering Plautus", 794.

27 For example, in later editions of *Beso Las Manos*, such as the Thomas Marshe edition of 1557, Mameranus added a moral allegory about a donkey, intended to promote a form of Christian simplicity within his readers.

28 Henry David Jocelyn, "Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's Chrysis and the Comedies of Plautus", *Res Publica Literarum* 14 (1991): 101–114. Celtis performed Plautus' *Aulularia* at court in Vienna in 1503, and in the same year his disciple, Jacob Locher, wrote *Ludicrum drama Plautino more*, which is based upon Plautus' *Asinaria*. See Richard F. Hardin, *Plautus and the English Renaissance of Comedy* (London: 2018), 24.

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poetic laurels (which is what Mameranus means when he writes of the "garlands" [*stemmata*]—implying both a wreath of laurels and poetic lineage—and the "helmets" [*galeas*] of bards) alludes to the *Satires* of Persius.[29] In his prologue, Persius breaks from the tradition of divinely inspired poetics by saying explicitly that his own verse does not come from having wet his lips in the "nag's spring", a periphrastic (and derogatory) reference to the Hippocrene on Mt. Helicon. This was a mythical spring supposedly formed by the hooves of Pegasus and sacred to the Muses, a source of divine inspiration for bards. Using *caballino*, rather than a more flattering reference to the Hippocrene, Persius mocks those "people with their statues licked by clinging ivy". He says, and so Mameranus implies of his own laureated contemporaries, that they are inspired by *venter* ("the belly"), meaning money and patronage, rather than anything divine that might be bestowed by the Muses, and therefore they crow like "raven poets" and "poetess magpies".[30]

Mameranus was aware that there was a certain hypocrisy to his claims, since, as an unsalaried courtly author, he was still uncomfortably reliant on the generosity of his patrons, his verse subject to their whims despite his aspirations to divine independence and self-defining authority. And he was not above reflecting on this conflict. In "Beso Las Manos" he plays upon his own anxious quest for patronage by developing his explanation of the title phrase from its trivial uses as a form of etiquette (meaning "I kiss the hands"), which could be used "whilst conversing among friends", to its use in the context of literary gift giving.[31] First, he outlines an idealised exchange:

> Someone could in compensation for a poem give *Beso Las Manos*, or if he is giving a gift instead of a poem, and even the Poet himself can reply with *Beso Las Manos* in turn. In this way also, in the place of a gift, anyone can give '*Beso Las Manos*' according to a recovered old custom.[32]

29 I am particularly grateful to an anonymous reviewer for alerting me to this allusion. Gary Vos has also suggested that, since the poem is about a Spanish custom, *caballus* may well be a nod to the vernacular. *Equus* does not have an equivalent in Spanish, but *caballus* does (*caballo*), and could allude to the Spanish *caballeros*-poets. There is no reason to think that Mameranus was incapable of employing it for both these purposes simultaneously.

30 Persius, "Prologue", in *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. and trans. Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, Mass.: 2004), 44–45.

31 "dum inter versantur amicos", Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1611), sig. Aii.

32 "Et dare quis poterit pro carmine, Beso Las Manos, / Aut si dat munus pro carmine, & ipse Poeta / Beso Las Manos, poteritque referre vicissim. / Sic quoque pro dono, dare nil nisi Beso Las Manos, / Vel quiuis poterit, veteri de more recepto", ibid., sig. Aii(v).

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The old custom Mameranus referred to here was probably the one outlined by Cicero—that in a perfect world, between virtuous friends, the perfect gift sought no return and so did not have to be materially acknowledged.[33] This idealized, unselfish behaviour also found concrete expression in Seneca's *De Beneficiis*, and was later reiterated in the dedications of the early modern writers who gave their works as gifts but claimed that they sought no remuneration for their efforts.[34] As Mameranus explains, one could theoretically just say *beso las manos* as thanks for a poem.

This kind of friendship between virtuous equals was rare, as even Cicero noted, because the perfectly virtuous were usually "nowhere to be found at all".[35] It was even rarer, if not impossible, in the inherently unequal relationship between patron and poet, and the majority of gifts given in the 16th century produced an obligatory reciprocation that was carefully considered and valued in accordance with the strict codes of social expectation and hierarchy that dominated the circumstances. Gift-giving engendered a "personal contract" between participants where the object given was often valued exactly. More often than not the action was "tacitly coercive" in that it sought to publicly manoeuvre a poet into the good graces of a potential patron, forcing the latter to provide a reward in order to keep up appearances.[36] This conflicted with the ideal relationship between a patron and his poet, and for Mameranus it was the cause of the tension between the independence of the true *vates*, who were accountable to none but the Muses, and his own position in 1550, which required him to seek material reciprocation for his gifts of poetry in order to earn his living. As he explained, echoing Juvenal's seventh satire:

> Poets are not able to give anything except such gifts [as poems]. However, poems on that account do not have to be compensated by a similar gift from you or indeed any other poet. Yet indeed Bards are not able to live

33 Cicero, "De Amicitia", in *On Old Age, On Friendship, On Divination*, ed. and trans. William Armistead Falconer (Cambridge, Mass.: 1923), 108–213, at caps. 27, 31, 58.

34 Lucius Annaeus Seneca, "De Beneficiis", in *Moral Essays*, ed. and trans. John W. Basore, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: 1975), I.i.1–X.4. See Richard A. McCabe, *"Ungainefull Arte": Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: 2016), 17–18. Schutte details a number of dedications in which writers maintain that their works are given in good conscience and without an obligation to reciprocate in *Book Dedications*, 54–62.

35 Cicero, *De Amicitia*, cap. 21.

36 Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: 2000), 4–5; Louis Adrian Montrose, "Gifts and Reasons: The Contexts of Peele's Araygnement of Paris", *ELH* 47, no. 3 (1980): 433–461, at 454.

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> from *Beso Las Manos*, but from the good graces of a kind Patron. For this reason: not themselves able to furnish books, garments, and writing paper, and many things in addition, for which their livelihood needs the use. Let Magnates delight in poems, poets in gifts.[37]

The English diplomat Thomas Elyot had touched on a similar point in the influential *Boke Named the Governour* (1531), saying that the quality of "liberality", something to be aspired to by all those of virtue, was founded as much "in giving as in taking … And he is only liberal, which distributeth according to his substance".[38] Distributing *beso las manos*, whilst acceptable in an ideal world, was not in accordance with a patron's station, Mameranus argued, and he implied that his own discomfort, and perhaps that of all poets, might be alleviated if patrons were more willing to recognize that although the good poet had the grace to refrain from requesting remuneration, the proper response from patrons was to provide it nonetheless. Only then could a poet, free from the constraints of continually searching for a living, take up the mantle of *vates* and enjoy the poetic freedom to pursue divine inspiration—to write the kind of poetry that Horace and Virgil were once able to write "in that ancient time" thanks to their generous patron, Maecenas. As Juvenal had put it, the ideal was for poets to be able to write verse that was "the product of a mind free from worry and without bitterness, a mind that longs for the woods and is fit to drink the springs of the Muses".[39] But, rather than offend any of his existing benefactors with a personal dedication, Mameranus consigned the 1550 edition of the poem to an anonymous "friend" and wrote it off as light-hearted teasing.[40] It would have been obvious to his erudite peers, however, that his teasing was embittered and quite serious.

The clues that Mameranus left to his "sense of station" before his crowning achievement on 25 October 1555, then, betray the anxieties of an unrecognised

37 "nil carmine praeter, / Vel certe reddam nil, praeter Beso Las Manos: / Nam dare non possunt, nisi talia dona Poetae. / Non tamen idcirco simuli sunt carmina dono, / A te, vel quouis alio redimenda poetae. / Non etenim vates possunt ex Beso Las Manos / Viuere, sed grati bene de candore Patroni. / Hinc sibi nec libros, vestes, chartasque parare, / Multaque praeterea, vitae quibus indiget vsus. / Carmina Magnates oblectitent: dona Poetas", Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1611), sig. Aiii(v).

38 Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, ed. Stanford E. Lehmberg (London: 1975), 130.

39 Juvenal, "Satire 7", in *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. and trans. Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, Mass.: 2004), 302–303.

40 "Ad N. Amicum", "Mameranus ludebat", Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1611), sigs. Ai, Aiv. The "N." probably stands for "Nicolaus".

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poet suffering under the realities of the early modern patronage system. It may be impossible to escape August von Druffel's charge that Mameranus wrote "partly for the sake of gaining money, [and] partly for the sake of the great", but his *Beso Las Manos* reveals an author at least willing to playfully point out his own flaws and the flaws of his profession, and suggests a much greater nuance to his writing than is typically recognized.[41]

2 Entrance into the Guild

Five years after Mameranus scorned the "garlands of these Bards" as "hollow" and claimed that their titles were "void in name", Charles V made him one of their number, prompting the poet to edit a new version of *Beso Las Manos* in which he retracted his complaint about the profession's dilapidation.[42] From the emperor's abdication ceremony onwards he described himself primarily as "Poet Laureate" in his writing and, as the incident at the *Disputationes Quodlibeticae* demonstrates, bore his laurels with the kind of integrity that could be described as a fault. There exists, unfortunately, no diploma or record of Mameranus's laureation, but the title was probably included—albeit unmentioned—within the latter of two grants he received, dated 22 and 25 October. In the first, awarded also to his two brothers, Heinrich and Thomas, Nicolaus was singled out for his faithful service on various expeditions against the Turks and Moors, for prevailing in the African expedition to Algiers and also in the wars against the Schmalkaldic League and the French. Just as he had excelled in wartime, the grant said, so he had also done in peace ("continually and indefatigably"), and so, in testimony of his virtuous service, all three brothers were given a coat of arms.[43] This was an honour supplemental to normal laureation and brought with it feudal benefits that the laureate diplomas lacked, since they were primarily an academic title similar to doctor or magister.[44] The coat of arms enabled the brothers to acquire and dispose of property in all of Charles's hereditary lands, and to settle wherever they

41 "er war … ein Mann, der seine Schriften theils um des Gelderwerbs, theils um der Gunst der Grossen willen abfasste", Druffel, *Des Viglius van Zwichem Tagebuch*, 11.

42 These retractions are clearly marked in Appendix 1.

43 "jugiter et indefesse", "Mameranus (Mamerani), Nikolaus, Kaiserlicher Hofdiener, Thomas, Heinrich, Brüder, Aus Luxemburg, Adelsstand", October 22, 1555, fols. 1–8, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv AT-OeStA/AVA Adel RAA 260.31, repr. in Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 294–297, see 295 for the quote.

44 Flood, *Poets Laureate*, 1: clix.

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pleased, enjoying the same rights as citizens without having to share their burdens and duties. This overrode any laws, statutes, and customary provisions of these localities.

In the second grant Charles elevated Nicolaus alone to "our intimate, continual domestic courtier and of the Count of the sacred Lateran Palace [Count Palatine] and of the Imperial Consistory and of our Emperor's court", giving him "our Imperial grace and every good thing".[45] As Didier notes, because it was common for the poetic laurels to be conferred simultaneously and for only the Palatine document to be issued, we can confidently suggest that it was on this occasion that Mameranus was invested with the laurel crown.[46] Because he calls himself the "Emperor's Bard" afterwards (specifying an association to Charles), because the document is signed "at the individual order of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty", and because its date coincides with the grand abdication ceremony in Brussels (where the document also originates), Didier suggests that Charles may have crowned Mameranus with his own hands in the presence of those at this ceremony.[47] It is tempting to agree, because Charles often chose ceremonial or important public occasions when granting the laurels (such as the Imperial diet at Speyer in 1544 where Johann Sastrow and Michael Toxites were laureated, or the diet at Regensberg in 1541 for Johann Stigel, Marcus Tatius Alpinus, and Kaspar Brusch).[48] However, the document should be treated with a little more caution because Charles is known to have backdated a number of the ecclesiastical, civil, and military appointments he still owed followers to this occasion in an attempt to prevent Philip from challenging any of them, and also because no accounts of the abdication ceremony indicate any such award being granted.[49] Nevertheless, he could very plaus-

45 "familiari nostro, aulico continuo domestico ac sacri Lateranensis Palatii aulaeque nostrae Caesarae et Imperialis consistorii Comiti, gratiam nostram Caesaream et omne bonum", "Palatinat Ad Personam", 1, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 297–298.

46 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aii; Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 89–90. The relation between the title of Poet Laureate and Count Palatine is summarised in Manfred P. Fleischer, "Melanchthon as Praeceptor of Late-Humanist Poetry", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20, no. 4 (1989): 559–580, at 576. Michael Toxites is another case in point, being laureated and made Count Palatine simultaneously at the Imperial diet at Speyer in 1544. See Flood, *Poets Laureate*, 4: 2103–2104.

47 "Ad mandatum Caesareae et Catholicae Maiestatis proprium Haller", in "Palatinat Ad Personam", 8; Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 89–90.

48 See the respective entries for each laureation in Flood, *Poets Laureate*.

49 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 127–128. John Mason, who was present at the ceremony, also failed to note any awarding of degrees or privileges by Charles himself, nor by any others for that matter, though he admits he recorded only the bare bones of the event. Kervyn de Lettenhove, J. Marie Bruno Constantin, eds., *Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le règne de Philippe II*, vol. 1 (Brussels: 1882), 1–7.

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ibly have thought his abdication ceremony the perfect opportunity for publicly bestowing honours on those servants who had been most loyal to him throughout his reign.

Despite the uncertainty surrounding the occasion, it is possible to speak generally about Mameranus's conception of the role of the laureate poet and the symbolic capital he believed was behind his crown thanks to a few details found within the Count Palatine award, and because the poet's actions following his crowning are consistent with a particular understanding of his title—he acted very much like a man personally chosen by Charles to be the "Emperor's Bard" even if this was not the case. The honours and privileges granted under the Count Palatine title are enumerated according to a regular structure and in formulaic Latin, but the right to create further laureates indicates that the title is of a higher grade than the lower *Comitiva minor* (minor Count), which would only allow for the right to legitimise bastards and create notaries.[50] Mameranus's particular station and achievements are extolled, something unusual in typical laureate diplomas, but common in Palatine privileges such as this. He is commended for his twenty-two years of service and his bravery during the Imperial expeditions in much the same way as in the manuscript bestowing his coat of arms, but interestingly he is also praised for his talents as an author:

> Indeed, in which expeditions not only did you take part in person, but also by describing those partially in prose, partially in poetic form and by drawing up catalogues of all our journeys and travels undertaken from the beginning of our rule up to the present day and other memorable matters, you have dedicated our name to eternity, and we have considered that we have had nothing alien to our understanding, if we approve all these things with our imperial authority and leave what has been testified, through a certain extraordinary fondness of your merits and singular virtues and through our gratitude, an accurate and exacting account so that you may persevere in these matters in such a way, made all the more devoted to us …[51]

50 The document matches closely the awards of Count Palatine given to Andreas Vesalius and Cornelius van Baersdorp, who could also create laureates, though it appears that Vesalius was also able to create medical and legal doctors, whereas Mameranus could not. A translation of Vesalius's award can be found in Charles D. O'Malley, "Andreas Vesalius, Count Palatine: Further Information on Vesalius and His Ancestors", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 9, no. 2 (1954): 196–223, at 205–223; Flood, *Poets Laureate*, cxxi.

51 "quibus quidem expeditionibus non solum presens interfuisti sed etiam eas partim soluta partim ligata oratione describendo ac omnium itinerum et profectionum nostrarum ab

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The mention of this kind of encomiastic writing, which Mameranus had displayed most recently in the verse narrative of his *Gratulatorium*, fits a particularly Germanic understanding of the laureate award, and calls to mind the poet's earlier complaint of the profession. In its diplomas the award often emphasised the duty of the poet to eulogise the emperor and the princes of his realm on celebrated occasions in order to legitimise and, as it is described here, immortalise them. As Conrad Celtis had interpreted it, laureate poets "celebrate kings and kingdoms", and ensure that "the imperial honour and glory due to the Emperor alone will endure through time".[52]

This form of poetry—narrative verse which memorialised contemporary events after the fashion of the classical epic, nearly always written in dactylic hexameter and intertwined with panegyric—gained strong traction among the neo-Latinists of the 16th century and was predicated largely on the example of Virgil, whom Mameranus called one of the *Poetarum principes* alongside Homer.[53] But more than just praise, poets also integrated instruction into their narrative verse (*laudando praecipere*), expressing an exaggerated vision of Imperial dynastic triumph that was intended to guide as much as it was to flatter.[54] In many ways, their verses might be thought of as similar to, or types of, *specula principum* (mirrors of princes) because they revealed a vision of government—in this case an idealized vision of their benefactor's own government—that was then to be emulated. Mameranus believed that authoring this type of didactic, eulogizing narrative verse was the proper role of

initio imperii nostri in hodiernum usque diem susceptarum atque aliarum rerum memorabilium catalogos conficiendo nomen nostrum immortalitati consecrasti, nihil alienum a ratione duximus, si ea omnia nostra Caesarea auctoritate comprobemus testatumque relinquamus, nos tuorum meritorum virtutumque singularium peculiari quodam affectu et gratia nostra accuratam et exactam rationem habuisse, quo et tu in illis sic nobis factus devinctior perseveres atque in posterum ad huiusmodi servitia plura nobis impendenda promptior, expeditior et alacrior reddaris, et simul alii tuo ducti exemplo et nostra provocati munificentia ad simile virtutis studium animum componant, ac de gratis principibus benemereri contendant", in "Palatinat Ad Personam", fols. 2–3, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 298–299.

52 "reges et regna canent", "manebit in aevum / Imperialis honos et solo Caesare digna / Gloria", Conrad Celtis, *Panegyris Ad Duces Bavariae*, vol. 2 (Augsburg: 1492), lines 128–131. See also Jacob Canter's laureate diploma of 1494 in Flood, *Poets Laureate*, clxxxii.

53 Mameranus, *Oratio pro Memoria*, sig. biv; Florian Schaffenrath, "Narrative Poetry", in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, eds. Stefan Tilg and Sarah Knight (Oxford: 2015), 57–71, at 57.

54 Schaffenrath, "Narrative Poetry", 57–65; Wilhelm Kühlmann, "Neo-Latin Literature in Early Modern Germany", in *Early Modern German Literature, 1350–1700*, ed. Max Reinhart, vol. 4 (Rochester, N.Y.: 2007), 281–329, at 287–289.

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the laureate poet, not writing immoral comedy that produced "dull and crass laughter" as he had lamented of his contemporaries in 1550, and he practiced the style earnestly throughout his lifetime.[55]

Whilst Philip of Spain, Ferdinand I, his son Maximillian II, and Mary of Hungary all struggled to work through the complex consequences of Charles's abdication, Mameranus took up his pen and wrote his first work as a poet laureate: *Carmen Gratulatorium in Maximiliani II*, another song of congratulations like the *Gratulatorium* he had written to celebrate Philip's journey to England and marriage, but this time on the arrival of Maximilian and Maria in Brabant in 1556. Included was a solemn farewell memorializing the master he had served for over three decades in eloquent dactylic hexameters:

> Because voluntarily he [Charles] freed himself from all royal service, so that he might live among private men, freed, from processions and your honours, from kingdoms, riches, powers, cities, arms (all of which he conveyed to his beloved son according to his own free will, while life unharmed remains for him and he enjoys the welcome breeze with us) from the royal racket, and from the scornful and swelling ambition of the world, through which kings are often accustomed to become puffed up, after everything has been rejected by them and removed far away, who ever heard of a similar example from the entire origin of the world onwards, or in any region of the wide world? … This Charles, who with this name was the fifth Emperor, was the first author of admirable example, whom the eternal annals will mention throughout the long ages, who is about to be victorious forever by means of his famous virtue.[56]

55 This seems to have set him apart from many laureates in the mid-16th century whose crowning often marked the end of their poetic endeavours, it being 'proof' enough of their ability that they could now turn to seek other illustrious honours. Flood, *Poets Laureate*, clxxxiv.

56 "ultro quod se privaverit omni / Munere regali, ut privatus viveret inter / Privatos homines, pompis et honoribus vobis, / Regnis divitiis ditionibus urbibus armis / (in sibi dilectum quae contulit omnia natum / Sponte sua incolumis sibi dum stat vita superstes / Nobiscumque simul grata dum vescitur aura.) / Regali strepitu, fastu mundi atque tumenti / Ambitione, solent qua saepe longeque remotis, / Quis simile audivit tota unquam ab origine mundi / Exemplum, vasti vel in ullis regibus orbis? … Carolus hic primus fuit hoc qui nomine quintus / extitit exempli Caesar mirabilis auctor, / quem longa aeterni referent in saecula fasti, / clara victurum semper virtute per aevum", Nicolaus Mameranus, *Carmen Gratulatorium in Maximiliani II*, 1556, fols. 1–9, at 3a, 4a, ÖNB Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, National Library of Austria, repr. Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 305–311, quotation at 306.

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The poem goes on to praise and glorify Maximilian, and in so doing constructs a dynastic vision that attempted to guide his behaviour as heir apparent to the King of the Romans. Mameranus hopes that he will set a "devoted mind to justice in government", "ruling justly and piously", and specifies what he means by taking two biblical passages (1 Kings 8, and 3 Kings 12) and giving political instruction to the young prince.[57] Be unlike the young King Rehoboam, he says, referencing the latter passage:

> And you will not follow the decisions of the noble youths of stupid Rehoboam, when he was raised among them and among whom he spent the childish years of his tender age after the senile council of the venerable old men, whom his father King Solomon gathered in councils, had been rejected and spurned behind their backs, those old men whom bleak old age, whom many a day, whom excessively long experience in these matters, finally turned into the grey of the truly wise.[58]

As a consequence of his foolish action Rehoboam's "confused common people, having been roused in opposition, did begin to serve madness, destroying everywhere".[59] It is no coincidence that King Solomon was the last king of a united Israel. The parallel to Charles, who was currently dividing his empire, must have been obvious. Would Maximillian employ the services of older counsellors who had served the emperor, counsellors (as the poem subtly implied) such as Mameranus?

3 Looking Ahead

It seems that even with the laurels Mameranus could not escape the tension he originally expressed in *Beso Las Manos* between aspiring to be a model *vates* and his dependency upon the patronage of princes, and this *Carmen*

57 "moderamine mentem / justitiae addictam", "justeque regentem / atque pie", Mameranus, *Carmen Gratulatorium in Maximiliani II*, 5a, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 307.

58 "Nec stolidi Roboae juvenum consulta sequeris / nobilium, cum queis fuit enutritus, et inter / quos tenerae aetatis pueriles duxerat annos, / consilio venerandorum post terga senili / abjecto, spretoque senum, quos pater habebat / Rex Salomon in consiliis, quos cana senectus, / Et quos multa dies, rerum quos longior usus, / In vere tandem sapientum rettulit album", Mameranus, *Carmen Gratulatorium in Maximiliani II*, 5a, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 307.

59 "servire excita furore / in diversa ruens coepit plebs turbida passim", Mameranus, *Carmen Gratulatorium in Maximiliani II*, 6b, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 309.

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of 1556 betrays his continued anxieties about his livelihood even within a year of his greatest achievement. After all, none of his honours had come with a stipend. Yet the poem is a good example of the role Mameranus now believed he was authorized (indeed obligated) to perform as a divinely appointed counsellor to royalty, regardless of whether or not his counsel was specifically requested. When he came to England in 1557 and presented *Beso Las Manos* to Mary, he gave her a redacted version in which he had removed the passages deriding poet laureates, those about his materialistic needs—the "books, garments, and writing paper" and the "tawny coin" that a poet needed to survive, and also the references to such crude characters as the cook, the pimp, and the quack doctor.[60] He probably believed that elucidating the worldly realities of the poetic trade would appear unfitting for an author who had been formally included among the coterie of divine poet laureates (poets who, as Cleofilo had outlined in 1501, were not supposed to seek such things).

Where he had concluded the original edition of *Beso Las Manos* with "Mameranus jests", now he recast the poem, as chapter four will explore, as a humorous instruction manual on courtly etiquette, and included alongside it an allegorical poem instructing the reader in Christian virtue. He chose to identify the rest of his gift of books to Mary primarily with beatific terminology, hoping to add gravitas to his words and so align himself with the ideal embodiment of the laureate as an imparter of divine wisdom. In the dedication of the *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, for example, he claims that his versification of select psalms would help restore Catholicism in England and bolster the queen's authority as a ruler appointed by God, bringing a Christian and distinctly confessionalized meaning to his conception of *vates*. They would, he writes, help "return all the people back to the old tradition" and were "pious gifts of the holy Divine Prophet David". With them, "the Brothers will sing again the sacred Psalms everywhere in the churches, and venerably and piously they will speak the word of the Lord to the people, in order that they come to the joys of an eternal life".[61]

This divine religious quality that Mameranus claims for his poetry sits at odds with Peerlkamp's charge that he was a vulgar poet who "possesses no genuine sounds".[62] Certainly, Mameranus was not afraid of employing vicious language. For example, he referred to the Turks as "filthy dogs" in a passage quoted by Peerlkamp, to inept priests as "pigs" with "lazy bellies", and to the

60 See Appendix 1.

61 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aii(r-v).

62 "neque legitimum sonum tenet", Peerlkamp, *Liber de Vita*, 54.

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French king, Henry II, as a "Turkish tyrant, a disturber of the world, who must to be destroyed".[63] Mameranus was aware of his own vulgarity, but believed it was a product of, and necessary for the times in which he lived. When he composed his *Gratulatorium* for Philip and Mary he was accompanying Charles on one of his military campaigns. He described his Muse as one who "walked with slender slipper, fearing the horrifying arms of terrifying Mars", but also who "sounded thick lines with a lyre appropriate to the army camp". He apologized to the royal couple, explaining that his verse was rushed, but said that it was better to have "the Muse in rustic garb rather than no poem at all". He wrote, he admitted, "partly as a soldier, partly as a *semipaganus*".[64]

Mameranus was no soldier in the physical sense, but rather I suspect he meant this as a way to acknowledge the terseness of his verse and the conditions under which he wrote. His unusual choice of the descriptor *semipaganus* is a hapax legomenon in classical literature, found in the prologue to Persius' *Satires*, and has most recently been translated as "half-caste", although it is recognized as a vexingly ambiguous word.[65] Early modern readers who engaged with the works of Persius tended to use it primarily to signal their rusticity (i.e. "half-rustic" or "half-pagan")—as a form of erudite justification for the introduction of rude or rustic language within their writing.[66] While it would be easy to leave Mameranus's use of the word with this cursory justification, which fits well in the context of the composition of his address to Philip and Mary, his allusion to Persius in his *Beso Las Manos*, and his later return to this word to describe himself in 1558 in a poetic salutation to an unknown dedicatee in one of his manuscript drafts, suggests it ought to be given a more thorough consideration as a form of self-identification.[67]

As Robert Clinton Simms has argued, Persius' *semipaganus* was also used to imply honesty and moral integrity. It alluded to a distinction from and satirical superiority over the pretentions of other poets, particularly laureate poets,

63 "immundis canibus", Gruterus, *Delitiae*, 393, quoted in Peerlkamp, *Liber de Vita*, 54. The original that Gruterus reproduces is Nicolaus Mameranus, *Domino Philippo* (Louvain: 1549); "Huiusmodi homines sua ipsius conscientia victi, nonne fateri ultro debent, nihil esse aliud se, quam saginatos belle Iesu Christi patrimonio Epicuri de grege porcos, ventres pigros, luxu et otio deditos, telluris inutile pondus, nonnisi fruges consumere natos …", Mameranus, *Formula auspicandi*, 283, quoted in Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 131; "excidendum talem orbis vexatorem & tyrannum Turcicum", Mameranus, "Epistolae", 418.

64 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Fi; Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 102–103.

65 Persius, "Prologue", 44–45.

66 R. Clinton Simms, "Persius' Prologue and Early Modern English Satire", *Translation and Literature* 22, no. 1 (2013): 25–44, at 29–31.

67 Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon. Collection Chiflet MS 68, fol. 216.

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a reading that agrees with Mameranus's complaints in his *Beso Las Manos*.[68] It allowed him a coarseness in his poetry whilst rebuffing charges that he was vulgar. Of course, many of his contemporaries disagreed. Cornelius de Schoon, for example, complained:

> Mameranus, why do you love being called the *mamma* of Maro, when you are the author of an ill-refined poem? Let him take up the honour of this surname for himself, whose song of flows from the mouth of the Castalian Muses. Therefore either cease to be called the breast of Virgil, or compose rhythms worthy of the great Maro.[69]

At times this "ill-refined" quality that Mameranus possessed landed him in considerable difficulty and brought him into conflict with those from whom he was seeking patronage. As Henry de Vocht writes of the poet, he had a "habit of volunteering remarks on anything which did not find his approval, and he freely expressed them, irrespective of the impression he thereby made".[70] Although this may have contributed to his poor reputation among later commentators looking about disparagingly for a worthy successor to Petrarch or Virgil, Mameranus's tendency to voice his opinions with unstinting frankness makes him a valuable commentator who ought not to be dismissed as a panderer to the whims of his benefactors.

If we take seriously his "solemn sense of station", Mameranus must be distinguished from the Spanish *caballeros* who had accompanied Philip to England in 1554—the "slyly satirical" poets who wrote songs, sonnets, and love lyrics that mocked their "barbarous hosts", and who had only "disapproval" and "scorn" hidden within their poetry.[71] The admonition Mameranus gave in 1557 was austere, and even though at times it could be terse—such as when he wrote of the "destructive public insanity" he witnessed in London—his approach was generally constructive.[72] His response to arriving in England was not to laugh alongside the Spanish, but to aid Mary with books and advice that he hoped were "able to be profitable to a great, diverse common utility, of not a little

68 Clinton Simms, "Persius' Prologue", 30–32.

69 "Quare te mammam dici Mamerane Maronis, / Cum sis illepidi carminis auctor amas? / Ille sibi sumat cognominis huius honorem, / Castalium cuius manat ab ore melos. / Ergo virgilij vel desine Mamma vocari, / Vel dignos magno pange Marone modos", Cornelius de Schoon, *Sacrae Comoediae Sex … Ejusdem: Pseudostratiotae, Fabula Jocosa … Elegiarum Liber 1; Epigrammatum Liber 1* (Haarlem: 1592), 457.

70 Vocht, "Students", 476–477.

71 Warner, "Gift of Books", 345; Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 6–7.

72 "pronitiosa insania publica", Mameranus, "Petition 1", 38(r-v).

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advantage or welfare", so that the kingdom might flourish.[73] On the rare occasions when his poems did exhibit humour, such as in certain passages in *Beso Las Manos* that the fourth chapter explores, they were always given with the dual purpose of teaching as they entertained. Overall, his presentation was an act of carefully chosen practical guidance that addressed the most significant issues faced by Philip and Mary: intercultural relations at court, the progress of religious reformation, the balance of power within the royal couple's comonarchy, and even monetary policy. So rather than treating his dactylic hexameter as eloquent chauvinism meant only to display his faculty as a learned poet hoping to earn the material gratitude of Mary, more far-reaching questions ought to be asked of it. What messages did a counsellor who had spent the last decade at the heart of the Habsburg court have for England? When he eulogized the dynastic and religious capacity of Philip and Mary as leaders of Christian Europe, how realistic did he think he was being? Why did he believe the works he presented would be particularly relevant to Mary? And finally, was he correct?

73 "non parum quidem tum emolumenti, tum salutis ad multam, variamque vtilitatem publicam conducere posse arbitretur", ibid., 34.

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CHAPTER 2

The 1554 Epistles: Prospecting England's Place in the Habsburg Empire

In order to answer the questions posed in the previous chapter, it is first necessary to trace the origins of Mameranus's association with England, and to start thinking about why he and other counsellors in the Habsburg Empire might have wished to travel to London in the first place. The texts that the poet presented to Mary in 1557 were the culmination of a prolonged desire to supplicate for patronage at her court that he first expressed on 14 December 1554 when he wrote a series of three letters to "his singular Lord and Patron", Günther, Count of Schwarzburg (1529–1583), from the chancellery of the emperor in Brussels.[1] Schwarzburg was then residing in London with Philip and Mary, and, alongside firm religious guidance and emphatic counsel on maintaining the Habsburg-Valois War, Mameranus persistently implored his benefactor to commend him to the royal couple and secure his invitation to London. He wrote most directly in his final attempt, outlining explicitly that he wanted a stipend from Mary for both himself and two other soldiers. Mameranus's letters went unanswered; his repeated requests unfulfilled. He was not alone in his failure, however. Both the Imperial counsellor Joannes Stratius and the Flemish linguist and biblical scholar Andreas Masius failed to secure patronage at the English court.[2] And the Neapolitan soldier and courtier, Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, who landed in Kent, hoping to travel to London and present Mary with a page who played the lute, was sternly rebuffed and told to return to Naples.[3]

Others in Brussels were more successful. The Imperial counsellor, Francisco de Eraso (despite being one of the only men upon whom Charles still relied), began allying with Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip's favourite in England, and trav-

1 "Domino et Patrono suo singulari", Letter 1, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 415. Confusingly, Ayrmann grouped the letters with a fourth to Günther, which seems to allude to a promise made by the patron to his client. Whilst the month matches the dates of the other letters, Didier has, I believe correctly, surmised that it was in fact a letter from 1566. *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 106, n. 31.

2 Schutte, *Book Dedications*, 111; Andreas Masius, *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden*, ed. Max Lossen, vol. 2 (Leipzig: 1886), 158–159, 189, 212.

3 Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Basingstoke: 2007), 38–47.

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elled there frequently to secure favour and protection from the king.[4] The Italian condottiere Ferrante Gonzaga, and Emmanuel Philibert, the Duke of Savoy, both left the Netherlands to vie with each other before Philip for appointment as commander in Milan.[5] Gonzaga received several thousand ducats from the king, and his son also "a very reasonable pension" while residing at the English court.[6] Mary elected Savoy as a Knight of the Garter in October, sending Lord Clinton and Lord Say to invest him with the Order's insignia, and the Duke of Suffolk handsomely received him on arrival from Brussels in December.[7] Accompanying Savoy were "the substance of the nobility and gentlemen of this [Imperial] Court", numbering around one hundred men. Doubtless they too looked for favour as did "a number of ambassadors, regents, and agents from sundry states of Italy" who were preparing to leave with them.[8]

But, in the political turmoil caused by the decade-long abdication of an emperor, why would such persons want to petition Philip and his new English queen for patronage rather than Charles, who still technically ruled the Empire, Mary of Hungary, governor of the Habsburg Netherlands, Ferdinand of Austria, 'King of the Romans' (i.e. Imperial heir apparent), or his son and successor, Maximilian?[9] The obvious answer is that it became increasingly apparent that Charles favoured Philip as the successor to his empire. The shift of power, as Geoffrey Parker puts it, "did not go unnoticed".[10] But unfortunately very little is known of the private thoughts of these individuals, particularly those based in Brussels. Few left extant traces of their aspirations since many of the state papers concerning Philip's sojourn in England, probably including the correspondence of these officials and courtiers, were lost in 1559.[11] Non-Spanish, Imperial agents who came to England were also seldom discussed in

4 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 73, 75, 77, 86–87; James M. Boyden, *The Courtier and the King: Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain* (Berkeley: 1995), 48, 50.

5 *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 5, 1534–1554*, vol. V (London: 1873), 571–572; Boyden, *Courtier and the King*, 53.

6 *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 13, 1554–1558*, vol. XIII (London: 1954), 159.

7 William B. Turnbull, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Mary 1553–1558* (London: 1861), no. 276, p. 128; Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550–1563*, ed. J.G. Nichols (London: 1848), 79–81.

8 *CSPFM*, 144. In the previous month, the Netherlandish court painter Sir Anthonis Mor had made the same journey, producing a portrait of the queen and securing the king's good graces and an annual salary. See Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, "Nuevas noticias sobre el primer viaje de Antonio Moro a la Península Ibérica y su entrada al servicio de Felipe II", *Archivo Español de Arte* 89, no. 356 (20 December 2016): 423–429, at 427–428.

9 This is a similar question to the one Maria Rodríguez-Salgado posed in *Changing Face*, 19.

10 Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven: 2014), 41.

11 Boyden, *Courtier and the King*, 43, n. 18.

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detail by their hosts, who were preoccupied with the much greater number of much stranger Spaniards descending upon their country with Philip to meet his future wife.[12] Most histories of Anglo-Habsburg integration in the wake of the royal marriage are also preoccupied with the same Spaniards, who were notoriously derogatory of their host country, its inhabitants, and its queen, and who clashed violently with them both at court and in the city.[13] Whilst this conflict is no longer viewed as the result of inherent cultural incompatibility, and more positive aspects of the relationship are being teased out, those historians who look at foreign perspectives on England during this period tend to believe that these Anglo-Spanish confrontations caused "seeds of doubt" to be sown abroad about the country's incorporation into Philip's emerging empire.[14]

But the Habsburg dynasty encompassed more than just the *Spanish* Habsburgs—those men who already served Philip and accompanied him from Valladolid.[15] Equally significant, perhaps, but rarely acknowledged, were those statesmen in Brussels whose allegiance was until then primarily to Charles, and who under him had operated at the apex of the Empire. What did they believe was England's role on the Imperial landscape? And what did they think about the royal couple there? So far, the Brussels narrative is dominated by the familiar figure of Eraso who, as secretary of state, tried during this period to ingratiate himself with Philip through Ruy Gómez de Silva.[16] As key emissaries between Charles and his son, Eraso and Gómez's correspondence is useful, but it is also diplomatic and full of carefully couched etiquette—and so both difficult to interpret surely and atypical because of how well informed both were about events in England and the shifting locus of Imperial power. Gómez sent glowing reports of Philip's activities in England to Brussels and Eraso relayed them gleefully to Charles and sent back his own about how eager subjects in the Netherlands were to welcome their soon-to-be ruler, both tying their own fate

12 Machyn, *Diary*, 69–79; J.G. Nichols, ed., *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat* (London: 1850), 79–83.

13 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 163–165; Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 245–246; John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven: 2011), 211–213; David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government & Religion in England, 1553–58*, 2nd ed. (London: 1991), 157–162; López, "Great Faith", 124–128.

14 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 91.

15 The distinction between the Spanish and Austrian branches of the Habsburg Empire, inherited by Philip and Ferdinand respectively, had not yet emerged and would not until after 1555. Liesbeth Geevers, "Family Matters: William of Orange and the Hapsburgs after the Abdication of Charles V (1555–67)", *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (2010): 459–490, at 484–485.

16 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 19–20; Boyden, *Courtier and the King*, 47–52.

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in with that of the Spanish prince. Knowing this, James M. Boyden concludes that these men were "taken in by their own propaganda" and that opinions in the Netherlands probably did not match their reports.[17]

Unlike Eraso, Mameranus was much more prone to frank expression in his writings. He told Schwarzburg bluntly about his aspirations and beliefs, providing explicit reasons why such non-Spanish Habsburg figures might have chosen Philip and England over Charles at his court in Brussels in 1554. Although brief, his letters betray the gambits of a courtier lacking direct access to the ambassadorial reports sent to the emperor, and who relied on courtly gossip and personal connections in England to curry favour and keep abreast of affairs. He saw the new English monarchy as leading the campaign to reassert Catholicism in northern Europe: Mary as the saviour of her Church, and Philip as the warrior who would defend it against France. And whereas many of the prince's Spanish courtiers were contemptuous of England and its inhabitants, afraid that "by going to Mary's remote and heretical kingdom, they would be heading for their own doom", Mameranus's letters provide an unexplored contrast—an auspicious perspective on the country.[18] He was a man attracted to what he believed was the emerging centre stage of a new Anglo-Habsburg dynasty, but so far excluded from it.

1 The Marriage of Philip and Mary and the Reconciliation with Rome

On 9 October 1554, Charles returned to Brussels with Mameranus in tow after aborting his French campaign. A battle at Renty on 12 August had been closely fought, one of many in the lengthy Habsburg-Valois conflict, and although Henry II's forces, led by Francis, Duke of Guise, had prevailed, they failed to take the fort there. The overall result of the campaigning season was clearly a French success, however: they had gained Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Charles was now a "broken man", choosing never again to lead a military engagement in person. On the heels of his defeat he retired to his royal park in Brussels to plan his abdication, severely limiting access to his person to all but a few trusted members of his household.[19] At the time, Mameranus was in his employ as a royal historiographer, memorializing the conflict and related events in the Empire under a "Privilege of the Emperor" that had been granted to him on

17 Boyden, *Courtier and the King*, 49.
18 Edwards, *Mary I*, 179–180.
19 Parker, *Imprudent King*, 49.

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4 July 1549.[20] Upon his return from Renty he resumed work in the emperor's chancellery in Brussels under the Imperial secretary Wolfgang Haller, eager to stay informed of political affairs and turn what news he gathered to his advantage. He would not obtain the title of Poet Laureate and Count Palatine until 25 October the following year, and, although he held some formal recognition for his reporting and celebrating of political events, he desired further advancement and recognition for his poetry.

Much had happened in the Empire during Charles's latest campaign, and at his side Mameranus took note of Philip, a rising star who showed increasing independence from his father.[21] On 25 July 1554 at Winchester Cathedral that star brightened significantly when the English Lord Chancellor, Bishop Stephen Gardiner, presided over the marriage of Philip and Mary and thereby united England with the Habsburg Empire. Gardiner initiated the ceremony by announcing before the whole congregation the news brought to him by Don Juan Figueroa, the regent of Naples: Charles had begun his abdications and, in order that Philip might marry Mary as her equal, he bestowed upon his son the Kingdom of Naples, which also encompassed Sicily, and gave him the Duchy of Milan.[22] Gardiner rejoiced that now "the Quenes highnes was then maried, not only to a Pri[n]ce, but also vnto a king".[23] And as the couple exchanged their vows, Philip also became King of England, though the restrictive marriage treaty drawn up by Mary's councillors deprived him of the crown and all of its associated powers, severely limiting his legal rights as king consort.[24] Word of this occasion spread rapidly, and in Brussels, the English ambassador to the Imperial court, John Mason, reported that "the news of the Prince's arrival and of the marriage has caused universal joy here. The storms which in all times past had risen in England, and were in danger to continue, may by this blessed joining of two so well meaning Princes together be clearly calmed and set quiet".[25]

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20 The Privilege is printed in Mameranus, *Catalogus omnium Generalium*, sigs. Aii–iv. The exact nature of his mission in Renty is obscure, though he describes it "as part soldier, and part as semipaganus" ("ut miles partim, partimque ut semipaganus") in Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Fi. As the last chapter explored, the meaning of the word *semipaganus* is also difficult to get to grips with. Mameranus could be alluding to the Roman poet Persius, who when calling himself the same is often argued to be claiming he is a half-poet in the Prologue to his *Satires*, line 6.

21 Parker, *Imprudent King*, 40–43.

22 Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 238.

23 John Elder, *The Copie of a Letter Sent in to Scotlande* (London: 1555), sig. Avi(v).

24 Loades gives a succinct overview in *Reign of Mary Tudor*, 73–74.

25 *CSPFM*, 110.

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Philip's accession to the crown of Naples failed to surprise Mameranus. He had long recognized that son must eventually succeed father and tried to attract Philip's attention as early as 1549 with flattering poetry. He addressed the young prince publicly as the next in line, telling him to "believe you will be the first Emperor, Philip, who in name will bear this title of Great, O great Philip".[26] When Mameranus heard about the marriage he was still campaigning with Charles in Renty, but amidst the fighting he looked to England and imagined what its inclusion in the Habsburg Empire might entail. To this end he started composing his *Gratulatorium*, which was to contain both a celebratory poem in heroic verse that imagined Philip's journey and arrival on English shores, and also an epithalamium celebrating the auspicious union and its political and religious implications. Yet he refrained from printing it until September of the following year, perhaps lacking a suitable opportunity or the necessary information to complete his narrative. As the months dragged on and he returned to Brussels, he must have eagerly awaited further news from England.

On 12 November 1554 parliament assembled in Westminster. Philip and Mary intended that during it Cardinal Reginald Pole would formally reconcile England with the Catholic Church and restore the realm to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Holy See. All three had toiled for months to overcome many complications, but at last, on 13 November, Pole departed for England as Papal Legate. He would not arrive from the Continent for another nine days, and even more time passed before he reached parliament.[27] In Brussels, many waited to hear from him with bated breath. One clergyman there, Maximilian de Berghes (later Archbishop of Cambrai), wrote to a colleague in Germany on 23 November informing him excitedly that

> the most Reverend Cardinal Pole was called to the assemblies [parliament] by the estates of England by three outstanding nobles of the kingdom, which was held just now, I think, whereto he departed with all wishing of joy, not without hope of a great leading back again [i.e. the reconciliation with Rome]; letters are anticipated hourly concerning the success of the same assemblies.[28]

26 "Primus eris Caesar, qui nomine, crede, Philippus / Hunc titulum, Magni, Philippe feres", in Mameranus, *Domino Philippo*, sig. Aii.

27 A far more detailed account of Pole's return to England and the difficulties concerning the reconciliation in parliament is given in Edwards, *Mary I*, 215–225.

28 "Reverendissimus cardinalis Polus a statibus Angliae per tres praecipuos proceres regni est vocatus ad comitia nunc, ut opinor, habita, quo ipse est cum omni congratulatione profectus, non sine magnae spe in reductionis; in horas expectantur literae de eorundem

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When the letters did come, their news was monumental. On St. Andrew's Day, 30 November, Pole had addressed the Lords, Commons, and the king and queen. All knelt before him as he declared: "We, by apostolic authority … do absolve and deliver you … from all Heresy and Schism … and so we do restore you again to the unity of our Mother the holy Church".[29] Details of the speech travelled far, and numerous reports from London flooded to Brussels and elsewhere, including a personal letter from Pole to Charles sent on the same day.[30] The reports were subsequently translated, propagandized, and published throughout Europe, and as a consequence the Queen Dowager Mary of Hungary reported in Brussels that "this happy event will also have its effect on his Imperial Majesty's subjects here, encouraging them in the observance of one faith and also giving them guarantees of success in temporal affairs". She therefore arranged for "solemn processions and thanksgiving services" to be held "in the principal towns of the County of Hainault, like Mons and Valenciennes, in recognition of the divine guidance vouchsafed to the affairs of the realm of England".[31]

Working in the chancellery, Mameranus perhaps had access to some of the incoming correspondence. At the very least he was surrounded by those who did, such as the Imperial secretaries in whose presence he often signed his letters, so he would have heard the news early.[32] For a man who had already spent much of the 1550s embroiled in polemic against various Protestant authors, the reconciliation was a momentous victory, and the words he wrote to Schwarzburg are testament to its significance, in his eyes, for the universal Catholic Church:

> See, O Lord Count, how God compassionately has spent time with that miraculous and most noble kingdom of England, when it was enveloped

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comitiorum successu", 153. Maxim. de Berghes to Masius, Brussels, 23 November 1554, in Masius, *Briefe von Andreas Masius*, 2: 188–189.

29 John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Days* […], 4th ed., vol. 10 (London: 1583), 1478, quoted in Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 250–251. The legal ramifications of this day were not resolved until the following year, but as cause for celebration, this was the act that symbolized the most.

30 Thomas F. Mayer, ed., *CRP* (Aldershot: 2003), ii, 377–379.

31 *CSP Span*, XIII:117–118; Corinna Streckfuss, "England's Reconciliation with Rome: A News Event in Early Modern Europe", *Historical Research* 82, no. 215 (2009): 62–73, at 62.

32 Just how much detail he knew is hard to tell. He never mentions any specifics of the reconciliation, though he prided himself on remaining up to date with the affairs of the Empire and was in a good position to do so whilst in Brussels. Perhaps, however, he was only able to obtain enough information to publish the *Gratulatorium* in 1555, when Philip returned to Brussels and he could gather news from those who accompanied him.

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> in and perturbed by pestilential and heretical sects that were divided; He vindicated, rescued, and recleansed it through the female heir of royal power: and has returned it back under the obedience of the holy Roman Catholic Church.
>
> Which Church is truly the one and only promised church of Christ. All others, since they are discordant amongst themselves, and consent nowhere, merely are the unmixed synagogues of Satan and churches of the wicked. Which [kingdom] He subsequently restored to the true and legitimate heirs, the Queen and the Spanish Prince (who almost and to the same degree is the nearest to that royal power with the Queen herself, as you will sometime see from that poem of mine, God willing [i.e. the *Gratulatorium*]), and through both has made [it] to flourish as a result of civil and ecclesiastic policy.[33]

Here, with God working through her, Mary is presented as a vigorous leader responsible for successfully governing her realm, a view that contrasts with that of the Spanish *caballero*-poets who wrote bitter satires about their time in the country, indirectly deriding the queen as "an old and ugly woman, crazy and without money".[34] In the letter, Mameranus confirms Philip's legitimacy and hints at his later discussion in the *Gratulatorium* where he would attempt to prove the prince's close lineage to the English throne, but remarkably in this image of joint rule he explicitly delineates Philip's inferior royal status, contradicting the many Spaniards who wrote openly that they expected their prince to take up "the sword that belonged to him" and assume kingly authority.[35]

Mameranus also accords Mary full agency in the Reconciliation with Rome, unlike many authors in places such as Toledo, Ferrara, Venice, and Milan who preferred to credit Philip as the saviour of England's Church. They depicted

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33 "Vide Domine Comes, quomodo Deus miraculoso misericorditer cum illo nobilissimo regno Angliae egit, cum illud sectis & haeresibus pestilentibus perturbatum & inuolutum, per foeminam regni haeredem vindicauerit, eripuerit & repurgauerit: rursusque sub obedientiam sanctae catholicae Ro. Ecclesie redegerit. / Quae Ecclesia vere una & sola est sponsa ecclesia Christi. Aliae omnes, cum inter se ipsas dissonae sint, & nusquam consentiant, merae sunt synagogae Sathanae & ecclesiae malignantium. Deinde quod ad veros ac legitimos haeredes, Reginam & Principem Hisp. (qui & eodem fere gradu ei regno est proximus cum ipsa Regina, sicuti hoc ex carmine illo meo aliquando volente Deo videbis) restituit, & per utrumque florere ex politia ciuili simul & ecclesiastica fecerit", Letter 1, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 415–416.

34 Martin Nucio, ed., *Cancionero general, que contiene muchas obras de diversos autores antiguos* (Antwerp: 1557), 393(r-v), translated and quoted in Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 80.

35 *CSP Span*, XIII:86.

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Mary not as the virile leader of a religious renewal, but (if they were not insulting her as the *caballeros* did) only as a steadfast and pious woman who had remained loyal to the Catholic Church during the reigns of her father and brother, before Philip and divine providence had rescued her.[36] This is also the opinion of Eraso, who wrote from Antwerp that "the King is so highly esteemed here that their one desire is to see him and be governed by him", remarking on the "prudence with which he handled the religious question" in England.[37] Considering this dispatch was to Gómez and Eraso could therefore reasonably expect that its contents would find their way to Philip, it is no surprise to see him favouring the king in his account. Mameranus's letters to Schwarzburg, in contrast, reveal the reverence the poet held for Mary and her individual achievements as a female monarch in defence of Catholicism. Such was Mary's success restoring the religion of her kingdom, Mameranus wrote, that it ought to set "no light nor common example" to Schwarzburg and his followers, whose confessional allegiance was apparently questionable, but encourage their own return from apostasy: "so that you with all of your people might turn back to the same true and sacred church of God".[38] By 1557, the poet would proclaim Mary to be an example to all Christendom, and would build his political theory on an idealization of her as one of its saviours.[39]

2 War for Peace: Negotiating Philip's Role in the Habsburg-Valois Conflict

Mameranus's image of Philip helping the realm to 'flourish' accords with the preferences of English authors to present their new king as a benign helpmeet to Mary.[40] Pole had encapsulated this tendency for symbolic pacification in his first speech to Parliament on 28 November, which was widely published:[41]

36 Streckfuss, "Reconciliation with Rome", 67; Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York: 2012), 154; *CSP Span*, XIII:126; Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 98.

37 *CSP Span*, XIII:106–107.

38 "Quod tibi quaeso sit exemplo non leui neque vulgari, ut & tu cum tuis omnibus ad eandem veram & sanctam Dei ecclesiam reuertaris", Letter 1, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 416.

39 See chapter five, and in particular his dedication to Mary in *Psalmi Davidis quinque*.

40 Duncan, *Mary I*, 154.

41 *CRP*, ii, 366–368.

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> I can wel compare hym [Charles] to *Dauid*, whiche thoughe he were a manne electe of GOD: yet for that he was contaminate with bloode & war, coulde not builde the temple of *Ierusalem* but lefte the finishynge therof to *Salomon* whiche was *Rex pacificus*. So may it be thoughte, that the appeasing of controuersies of religion in Christianity, is not appoynted to this Emperour but rather to his sonne, who shal perfourme the buildyng that his father hath begun …[42]

Philip's own supporters cultivated the image of him as Solomon throughout his life, but it resonated particularly well with the English because it implied both that as their king he would refrain from drawing the country into war, and also that he would come to England not as a conqueror but rather as a peaceful husband who would aid in the rebuilding of their Church.[43] Mameranus, though he supported this peaceful image of Philip as far as it pertained to the domestic situation in England, had a contrasting view of the English crown in international matters.

Despite Charles's ailments, the Habsburg-Valois War raged on as forces contested territories in Italy, and tensions elsewhere in the north of the Empire remained high. Now that Philip had inherited a number of strategically important regions (including England) many looked to the new king for his military potential and his capacity to defend them against the French (despite what the English may have preferred).[44] Philip's own military aspirations at this point appear to have been in flux. On the one hand, as he wrote to his father in November, he desired "to show the whole world by my actions that I am not trying to acquire other peoples' states", yet he was still anxious to prove himself, continuing: "I wish it to be understood that I mean to defend all that which your Majesty has bestowed on me".[45] Mameranus thought there was only one path Philip should take, however, and it depended on a particular understanding of his role as King of England. He expressed to Schwarzburg that outside England the young prince's new crown gave him a "most just and opportune cause of war" because of the titular claim that the English monarchy had to the French throne. He saw Philip as no peaceful Solomon but a "commander and general of the entire army", an emergent leader newly

42 Elder, *Copie of a Letter*, sigs. Dvii(v)–viii.

43 Geoffrey Parker, "The Place of Tudor England in the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain: The Prothero Lecture", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 167–221, at 180–182; Duncan, *Mary I*, 154–155.

44 Edwards, *Mary I*, 280–282.

45 *CSP Span*, XIII:97.

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empowered, as yet unbloodied in battle, but a crucial asset against Henry—his new position ensuring an Anglo-Habsburg counterweight against the ceaseless threat of French encirclement of the Netherlands.[46] According to Mameranus, the king's role as military defender of the Catholic Church in Europe neatly complemented Mary's more peaceful one as religious saviour, and this he perhaps believed was recompense for the power Philip had to share within England.

In early 1554, Viglius van Zwichem, President of the emperor's Council of State, also welcomed Philip and Mary's marriage for the same reasons. Although he hoped there would eventually be peace, he too saw the military benefits of the alliance, and in a letter to Adolf von Schaumburg, Archbishop of Cologne, he wrote:

> Meanwhile the French are setting everything in motion, so that they might again stir up the people to new riots in that place [England], and if they will be unable to effect this, they seem to be ready to make war upon the English, and they incite the Scots to the same. But if truly the affairs of the Kingdom of England (as we hope for) can be stabilised at home by the arrival of the Prince, there will be no concern of danger for the English from either side, and with those allies we too will check the power of the French more easily.[47]

But whereas Viglius thought Philip would bring defensive aid, Mameranus saw immediate aggression as the sole recourse to "perpetual peace". His own career as an itinerant Imperial servant had been in part necessitated through the destruction of his hometown, Mamer, near Luxembourg, in 1543 by the French forces of Charles II, Duke of Orléans. Ever since then his writing harboured vehement animosity towards the cause of his suffering, and the suffering, he

46 "Et ideo Rex Angliae cum vero & legitimo titulo sibi regnum Franciae adscribat ac tributarium habeat, iustissima & opportunissima causa posset & deberet esse belli contra eum gerendi & totius exercitus Primarius ac Generalis", Letter 1, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 417.

47 "Galli interea omnia moliuntur, ut populum ad novos rursus motus ibidem excitent, & si hoc efficere nequibunt, bellum ipsi videntur Anglis illaturi, atque in idem Scotos sollicitant. Quod si vero res Regni Angliae (uti speramus) Principis adventu domi queant* constabiliri, nihil Anglis ab utrisque erit periculi, & nos quoque illis sociis facilius Gallorum vim reprimemus", Letter 161. Viglius to Adolf the Archbishop of Cologne, C.P. Hoynck van Papendrecht, *Vita Viglii ab Aytta Zuichemi ab ipso Viglio scripta, ejusque, nec non Joachimi Hopperi et Joannis Baptistae Tassii Opera historica aliaque analecta ad historiam scissi Belgii potissimum attinentia*, vol. 3 (The Hague: 1743), 370–371.

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believed, of all true Christians: the French king.[48] When he wrote about Henry in December, describing him as "a colleague and brother of the Turk … who ruined his own and others", he was not just towing the party line.[49] His vendetta was personal, and he saw the establishment of Habsburg hegemony as just retribution for Henry's crimes. He therefore wrote to Schwarzburg: "I beg that you might at once make mention before the King about the future war against the Frenchman, that public disturber of the world, how he might think about carrying out the conflict".[50] Equally importantly, he continued, "you must arrange for me to be there with the king. For I hope and trust in God that my presence will not be insalutary to his most Serene Majesty, nor unfruitful for the destruction of such a disturber of the world and Turkish tyrant", suggesting to Schwarzburg that the noble might ride at the head of two thousand horses for Philip before the beginning of March.[51] Alongside Schwarzburg in England were several eminent nobles who had lost much during previous Imperial campaigns such as the Duke of Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, and from mid-December, the Duke of Savoy. They too were eager to reclaim territories lost to the French, and so also their honour, and Mameranus argued on their behalf that no peace should be given to the enemy unless Metz, Toul, Verdun, Siena and several other areas could be restored to their rightful owners.[52]

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48 In a commentary written at that time he despaired that "the great and elegant commune of Mamer, one mile from the separate town of Luxembourg, was cruelly taken and savagely obliterated in fire" ("Mamerum pagum amplum & elegantem, uno milliari ab oppido Lucemburgo distantem, incindio crudiliter & furiose totum absumpsit atque delevit"), Nicolaus Mameranus, "Nicolai Mamerani Commentarius", in *Subsidia Diplomatica Ad Selecta Juris Ecclesiastici Germaniae et Historiarum Capita Elucidanda Ex Originalibus Alisque Authenticis Documentis Congesta, Notis Illustrata et Edita*, by Stephan Alexander Würdtwein, vol. 10 (Frankfurt and Leipzig: 1777), 387.

49 "collega & frater Turcae … qui suos & alios perdidit", Letter 2, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 419. In fact, many in Charles' Council of War in Brussels argued against any further conflict. See Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 92–93; Boyden, *Courtier and the King*, 53.

50 "quaeso ut simul mentionem facias apud Regem futuri belli contra Gallum, istum orbis turbatorem publicum, quomodo illud gerendum existimet", Letter 1, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 417.

51 "rogo & me cures apud Regem adesse. Spero enim & confido in Deo, meam praesentiam S. Majestati fore non insalutarem neque infrugiferam ad excidendum talem orbis vexatorem & tyrannum Turcicum", Letter 1, ibid., 418.

52 Letter 3, ibid., 420–421; Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 93. Savoy arrived in December, as shown in *CSP Span*, XIII: 127. Günther and Philibert both fought in the Battle of St. Quentin in 1557, and Alba's affinity for soldiering is shown in Walther Kirchner, "The Duke of Alba Reconsidered", *Pacific Historical Review* 14, no. 1 (1945): 64–67.

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Working against these implorations in England, however, was Cardinal Pole, who asserted in his speech before parliament that further warfare prevented the building of any Church unified throughout Christendom. He had already been trying to broker peace for some time, but the long years of conflict had resigned him to the fact that the emperor was "contaminate with bloode & war", and could not be reasoned with by him alone.[53] He instead looked to the newlywed couple to mediate between the warring monarchs and asked Philip to intercede with his father in the hope of arranging a peace conference.[54] Just after his arrival in London on 20 November, Pole had also begun discussions with the French ambassador Antoine de Noailles and his brother, the protonotary, François, who had been sent on a special mission by Henry to sound out such designs.[55] These negotiations remained underway in early December in England, but in Brussels reports about the Noailles brothers filtered through to court, and Mameranus wrote angrily about it in a second letter to Schwarzburg, sending it through Magister Griffier, secretary to the Duke of Savoy:[56]

> Meanwhile, we understand that the Frenchman has sent Orators to Cardinal Pole in England to ask for peace with the Emperor, so that he may intercede and establish conditions for peace.
>
> I, on the other hand, ask you, that you urge the King, that no such conditions for peace whatsoever are given to the Frenchman. For what reason? Must he find peace, who at no time desired peace? Who stirred up everywhere in commotion all things, as long as he was able?

Mameranus placed far less trust in the French than did Pole, but with negotiations developing, he could only write frantically to Scharwzburg to act:

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53 He had been officially attempting peace since 1537, when a legation to that effect was delegated to him by Paul III. See John Edwards, *Archbishop Pole* (Farnham: 2014), 203; Elder, *Copie of a Letter*, sig. viii. A good overview of the reasons for the conflict is given in Edwards, *Mary I*, 278–282. An example of Pole's early attempts to act as peace legate can be found in Mayer, *CRP*, ii, 356.

54 Philip did attempt this in a letter to the emperor on 16 November 1554, *CSP Span*, XIII: 96–99.

55 Heinrich Lutz, "Cardinal Reginald Pole and the Path to Anglo-Papal Mediation at the Peace Conference of Marcq, 1553–55", in *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. E.I. Kouri and Tom Scott (London: 1987), 329–352, at 340.

56 The peace conference would eventually be held at La Marque, on neutral territory between Calais and Gravelines on 23 May 1555, mediated by the English. It was attended by both French and Imperial ambassadors but failed to reach any agreement.

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> Indeed it is no longer fitting for him [Henry], nor his heirs, to be kings of the noblest Kingdom of France: but it is fitting that this power be handed over and transferred to the King of England in perpetual peace. That, therefore is what you must urge, I beg you, with all your resources before the King: that you completely hinder this peace.[57]

This vision of dynastic conquest that he proposed was legitimised through Philip's accession to the English throne and his marriage to Mary. That Philip himself might recognise this and drag the reluctant kingdom into the war, as Mameranus hoped, was exactly what the queen's own counsellors feared, and his warmongering here is indicative of an insensitivity that the poet would deliberately suppress in his *Gratulatorium*.[58] In Mameranus's private letters, however, Philip unapologetically embodies for England the martial aspect of monarchy that was traditionally associated with kings as opposed to queens, a view that might have been shared by certain English nobles who offered to serve the king in war.[59] Yet even in the letters to Schwarzburg the poet hesitated to go so far as most Spaniards, who were of the view that Philip would take control of English government, handling the "matters impertinent to women" and more.[60] Philip had a just cause to claim the French throne as King of Eng-

57 "Interim hic intelligimus, Gallum milisse Oratores istuc in Angliam ad Cardinalem Polum rogatum pacem cum Caesare, ut is intercedat & conditiones pacis faciat. Ego autem te rogo, ut apud Regem agas, ne ullae dentur prorsus omnino conditiones pacis Gallo. Quomodo? pacemne inuenire debet, qui nunquam pacem voluit? qui miscuit omnia quamdiu potuit ubique tumultu? … Non enim oportet illum ulterius neque haeredes eius Reges esse nobilissimi Regni Franciae: sed ad Regem Angliae oportet deuolui ac transferri illud in pacem perpetuam. Id igitur age, te quaeso, omnibus viribus apud Regem; ut hanc pacem omnino impedias", Letter 2, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 419.

58 Loades, *Reign of Mary Tudor*, 165.

59 For example, in the 15th century, John Fortescue had written against female rule by arguing that "queens could not bear the sword", S.B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1936), 63. See Anna Whitelock, "'Woman, Warrior, Queen?' Rethinking Mary and Elizabeth", in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, eds. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: 2010), 173–189, at 173. The same article argues that Mary managed to overcome many of these assumptions and successfully embody the martial aspect of her queenship in her own right, especially during her pre-marital years. See also Duncan, *Mary I*, 155–156. The Imperial ambassador Simon Renard reported to the emperor on the eagerness of the English to join the king in war on 6 November 1554, *CSP Span*, XIII:78.

60 Archivo General de Simancas, Estado 1498, fols. 6–7, quoted in Glyn Redworth, "'Matters Impertinent to Women': Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary", *The English Historical Review* CXII, no. 447 (1997): 597–613, at 609. The Duke of Alba expressed a similar view and was exasperated that Philip was not doing more to take control of the realm.

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land, Mameranus said, but the war would equally be to have France "once again come under the power of a female Queen, at some point captured and made liable to pay tribute through a female virgin".[61] Clearly martial ability did not imply regal superiority even for a Habsburg courtier, and Mameranus saw each monarch holding complimenting and important roles as the new leaders of an Anglo-Habsburg Christendom.

3 An Emerging Dynasty

Realizing that his requests to attend Philip and Mary were being ignored, Mameranus reminded Schwarzburg repeatedly of his previous letters asking for commendation and tried sending them through various emissaries. According to his last extant letter of that year, sent on 21 December, he had dined the previous night with President Viglius and a couple of other members of the chancellery, Secretary Scharberger and Commissioner Eschelbach. These important statesmen had decided, Mameranus relayed, that Schwarzburg should "certainly have solicited with the Queen there so that she wishes to approve and offer a stipend of three soldiers who have served under you, evidently Doctor Peter, Schedelius and Mameranus".[62] This last-ditch attempt was again to no avail, but what was it that had made Mameranus so persistent? Up until this point Philip was a controversial figure in the Habsburg Netherlands. His

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Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, *Epistolario Del III Duque de Alba, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo*, edited by the 17th Duke of Alba, vol. 1 (Madrid: 1952), 7, 236. See Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 98.

61 "per foeminam virginem aliquando captum & tributorium factum: rursus sub foeminae Reginae potestatem rediturum", Letter 1, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 418.

62 "te nimirum solicitasse apud Reginam hic, ut trium militum, qui sub te militassent, stipendium comprobare & asserere vellet, videlicet, Doctoris Petri, Schedelii & Mamerani", Letter 3, ibid., 421. This passage has been the subject of some confusion in the past, with August von Druffel reading the word *militum* as *millium* and suggesting that perhaps Mameranus meant *illorum* instead. Ayrmann, I believe, has the correct reading of the word, and the one which makes the most internal sense, as *militum*, meaning Mameranus was referring to himself and the two others as "soldiers". See Druffel, *Des Viglius van Zwichem Tagebuch*, 11. When Mameranus said "soldier", however, he meant only that he served as a rider among commanders, not as a foot soldier who actually fought, and in his own words he did this to learn more of camp life and report on it, rather than to kill people. In light of this, perhaps these two other men may also be thought of as having an accompanying rather than a combative role. See Mameranus, *Catalogus omnium Generalium*, sig. avi. He was, overall, largely repulsed by the soldier's life, as is shown in the particularly descriptive passages in his *Catalogus expeditionis rebellium*, sig. Ciii(v). Didier gives a corresponding analysis in *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 102–103.

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previous visits there had been resented, and although he was accepted as the legitimate heir to the territories, many perceived him to be arrogant and were frustrated he spoke neither French nor Dutch. As William Maltby points out, in cultural terms they believed him to be "wholly Spanish" and unsympathetic to their requirements.[63] Maximilian de Berghes, operating from Brussels, perhaps gives a clue in a letter he wrote to Andreas Masius:

> It is reported that our Prince, the King of England, is becoming more acceptable to the English themselves by the day, and this is no wonder, for he is [now] so very different from the man that Your Lordship once saw, that one could almost say that he was made anew, and, if I dare say so, he has become everything else than a Spaniard, so that everyone expects the greatest accomplishments from him.[64]

This perceived change in Philip's character, and the belief that the English were willing to accept him as the head of their polity is remarkable because it corresponds with Eraso's reports. He, too, wrote to Gómez that Philip's actions in England, particularly his affability and attention to the "exercise of justice" had caused a great increase in his reputation at the Imperial court, supposedly leading Charles to express his relief that his son was "greatly changed" and many "high officials, gentlemen and merchants" to esteem him highly.[65] Perhaps, then, this was not such a "dubious proposition" as Boyden considers it.[66] As Berghes' letter and those of Mameranus suggest, Philip's marriage to Mary and his accession to the throne of England was an important step for his assimilation into a northern Imperial culture, and for tying his political concerns in with their own.[67]

As knowledge of the emperor's declining health became widespread, and his inability (or perhaps refusal) to deal with matters of state divided and crippled his Council of War, figures in Brussels such as Eraso, Viglius, Savoy, and Alba,

63 William Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V* (Basingstoke: 2002), 108.

64 "Princeps noster rex Angliae ipsis Anglis, ut nunciatur, quotidie fit gratior, et non mirum; nam adeo est ab illo mutatus, quem olim eum vidit D. V. [Devotio Vestra], ut possit fere dici factus novus, et, si ausim hoc addere, nihil minus quam Hispanus, sic quod omnes maxima ab eo expectent", Masius, *Briefe von Andreas Masius*, 2, 189. I am very grateful to Luc Deitz for his help with this translation.

65 *CSP Span*, XIII: 106–107.

66 Boyden, *Courtier and the King*, 49.

67 This was also aided by the fact that many now believed Mary to be pregnant, and that, were that child to live, the marriage treaty dictated that it would rule the Habsburg Netherlands as well as England. Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 175–176.

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began, like Mameranus and Berghes, to recognize England as central to the shifting seat of the Empire since Philip's power was, until Charles made any further abdications, predicated chiefly on his latest title, King of England.[68] Far from simply assuming control of English government, Mameranus's letters also reveal that some Habsburg courtiers recognised that the king's new title was inherently linked, not just to the country he was in, but to a queen who ruled it successfully and autonomously. The poet's views, then, taken with these others, are evidence that in Brussels there was a dawning awareness that to succeed in this new dynastic era, it was necessary to secure offices and favours in the royal couple's presence—as Savoy put it, to sail to England "to pluck the fruit of the hopes that are now blossoming there".[69] And as his movements, and the movements of Gonzaga, Alba, Schwarzburg, and the unknown "nobility and gentlemen" of the Imperial court in Savoy's entourage suggest, they were willing to cross from Brussels to England to do so.

For the immediate future, Mameranus was left behind to think about how else he could attract Philip and Mary's attention. As he continued to develop his ideas about the newly emerging Anglo-Habsburg dynasty, he began to think about how best to frame them for an international audience in his *Gratulatorium*.

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68 As is suggested from the ordering of their widely published joint title: Philip and Mary, by the grace of God King and Queen of England, Naples, Jerusalem, Ireland and France, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Bergundy and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders and Tyrol. Elder, *Copie of a Letter*, sig. Aviii.

69 *CSP Span*, XIII:104.

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CHAPTER 3

Celebrating the Marriage of Philip and Mary: The Political Rhetoric of Printed Epithalamia

In his letters to Schwarzburg Mameranus was careful to ascribe to Philip an independent role as King of England; but that was not necessarily the image that Mary strove to build, particularly during her wedding ceremony. When she married Philip on 25 July 1554 she placed her new husband to the left of the central table at Winchester Cathedral, the symbolically subordinate side traditionally reserved for the bride. The royal couple both had impressive retinues, but Mary's contained more preeminent members of the nobility, and, although she allowed Philip to carry a sword of state alongside her, her officials provided it only after they spoke their marital vows, signifying that he was a monarch of England solely by virtue of marriage. At the wedding feast, Mary sat on a larger chair, had a coterie of English courtiers serve food to her first, and ate from gold plates while Philip used only silver.[1] The queen intended these and other representational strategies to visually offset common early modern cultural assumptions about gender hierarchy that might cast doubt upon her capacity to retain sovereignty over the kingdom as a married female. She wanted to reassure her English subjects that Philip posed no threat to her authority and their independence.[2] The measures were noticed and commented upon in courtly circles, but, as Judith Richards points out, Philip nonetheless preceded Mary in their official titles, and it was this hierarchical presentation that was most widely promulgated abroad. The titles therefore reaffirmed for many the culturally held belief that husbands governed their wives.[3]

1 Elder, *Copie of a Letter*, sigs. Av(r-v), Biii(v); Giulio Raviglio Rosso, *Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra, in materia del Duca di Nortomberlan dopo la morte di Odoardo VI* (Venice: 1558), 64(a-b); Edwards, *Mary I*, 189; Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 9937, fol. 133(v), quoted in Alexander Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July–August 1554", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 3 (2005): 761–784, at 762; *CSP Span*, XIII, 11.

2 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 158–161; Duncan, *Mary I*, 68–71; Samson, "Changing Places", 761–784.

3 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 161. Richards also notes that the marriage treaty, the terms of which stated that Mary would retain full sovereignty, were "apparently neither widely believed nor understood" despite being published widely. "Reassessing Mary Tudor: Some Concluding Points", in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, eds. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Free-

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The idea of a foreign, Catholic prince exerting dominion over their realm agitated many Englishmen, particularly Protestants, and the condemnatory literature they produced in response still engrosses much of the historiography.[4] To redress this imbalance, Corinna Streckfuss fruitfully explores the positive reception of the marriage in a European context.[5] She considers twenty works of "propaganda" celebrating the wedding that range from eyewitness reports to eulogistic poems and orations, claiming that the aims of each are "easily identified" and largely unanimous.[6] Their authors, she says, focused primarily on praising the marriage as a Habsburg triumph, and ignored Mary's ceremonial efforts because their audience might perceive them as a snub against Philip. She also argues, however, that at the same time the publications were "unusually sensitive", "equally addressing" English fears of foreign political encroachment by showing how Philip followed English customs and observed stipulations of the marriage treaty that heavily favoured Mary.[7]

Rather than attempting to match such a broad survey, this chapter looks at just two authors cited by Streckfuss: Mameranus with his "Gratulatorium" and "Epithalamium", both contained within *Gratulatorium* and read in unison, and Hadrianus Junius's poem *Philippeis*. As the last chapter noted, Mameranus was accompanying the emperor on a military expedition in Renty, France, in 1554 when he composed much of his piece. He published it no later than September 1555 for the occasion of Philip's arrival in Belgium from England, probably as an attempt to ingratiate himself with the young king currently in the process of inheriting his father's vast empire.[8] When the poet accompanied Philip to England in 1557, it would be one of the works he presented to Mary and

man (Basingstoke: 2011), 206–224, at 222. David Loades takes a similar perspective in *Tudor Queens of England* (London: 2009), 196. For those in courtly circles who commented upon the unusual representational strategies, see Samson, "Changing Places", 762.

4 Susan Doran, "A 'Sharp Rod' of Chastisement: Mary I through Protestant Eyes", in *Old and New Perspectives*, 21–36, at 24–26.

5 While Kevin Sharpe has suggested that Mary's marriage may not have been completely unpopular, Corinna Streckfuss is the first to evidence the notion in "'Spes Maxima Nostra': European Propaganda and the Spanish Match", in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, eds. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: 2010), 147–157; Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: 2009), 259.

6 Streckfuss, "'Spes Maxima Nostra,'" 146, 152.

7 Ibid., 149, 152–153.

8 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sigs. Aii(r-v), Fi. The poem was probably not published later than 25 October 1555, when Mameranus received his poetic laurels at the emperor's abdication ceremony, because, unlike all his works from that date onwards, the poet does not style himself as a laureate on the title page.

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her husband.[9] Unlike Mameranus, an unwavering Catholic, Junius was a Dutch physician and poet who spent much of Edward VI's reign associating with influential Protestant figures. After provoking a papal ban on his works, however, his career began to suffer, and as a result he realigned his public allegiances, publishing *Philippeis* in London at Thomas Berthelet's press in 1554 in what Chris Heesakkers suggests was an attempt at self-promotion. Junius was in England at the time of the wedding and intended to present his work to the royal couple, though whether or not he succeeded is unknown.[10]

Both the *Gratulatorium* and *Philippeis* share a specific literary genre, the epithalamium, and it is useful to approach them as such, paying attention to the way in which they engage with established traditions and tropes. In doing so, this chapter questions Streckfuss's claim that such a wide variety of publications has homogeneous aims, and her suggestion that each equally addressed English fears, cautioning against straightforward readings of the works as uncomplicated propaganda.[11] Following Adrienne Eastwood's methodology, which posits *Philippeis* as an example of the debate on gynarchy prevalent in some 16th-century epithalamia, this chapter examines how Junius and Mameranus each implemented and adapted epithalamic motifs to take distinct and opposed stances on the significance of the royal marriage and the effect it would have on Mary's authority, despite both being written as celebrations.[12] Where Junius implied Philip's political dominance by using an erotic description of the sexual consummation of the marriage, Mameranus rhetorically bolstered Mary's sovereignty against Spanish infringement by defying generic expectation, unconventionally de-eroticizing the marriage in his *Gratulatorium* and instead accentuating the queen's political body over her corpor-

9 Warner, "Gift of Books", 346.

10 Hadrianus Junius, *Philippeis, Seu, In Nuptias Divi Philippi, Ang. Pii, Max. & Heroinae Mariae Ang. Felicis, Invictae, Regum Angliae* [*Etc.*] *Carmen Heroicum …* (London: 1554); Chris Heesakkers, "The Ambassador of the Republic of Letters at the Wedding of Prince Philip of Spain and Queen Mary of England: Hadrianus Junius and His *Philippeis*", in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, August 4–9, 1997* (Tempe AZ: 2000), 325–332. See Adrienne L. Eastwood, "In the Shadow of the Queen: The Early English Epithalamium and the Female Monarch", *Early Modern Literary Studies* 16, no. 3 (2013): 1–23, at 8.

11 Anthony F. D'Elia has noted that epithalamia "bear little relation to other forms of nuptial speech", supporting the idea that more can be gained from studying these two works within the criteria of their genre rather than alongside every other type of report on the wedding. See *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2004), 35. Sharpe's reading of Junius, whilst useful for his purposes, is one such example of a straightforward reading. See his *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 259–260.

12 Eastwood, "Shadow of the Queen", 1–23.

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eal one. Thus, whilst Junius's work exemplifies Richards' statement that "nothing could silence the widespread insistence that husbands ruled their wives", Mameranus calls such assumptions into question through the presentation of a balanced union between the royal couple, devoting extra attention to placating English fears by reinforcing Mary's image as a political ruler within the marriage.[13] Revealing the marked differences in approach between the poems of Junius and Mameranus in turn suggests that there is greater political variety and nuance to these texts, and indeed to these types of literature, than has previously been noticed.

1 The Epithalamium as a Literary Genre during the Renaissance

The basic structural components of the Renaissance epithalamium were inherited from classical precedents. In the Greek tradition, modelled largely on Sappho, the poem calls divine and human participants to the wedding, then it recounts the proceedings as the guests eagerly await the evening. The poem praises the bride and bridegroom for their virtue and beauty, and describes the bride as nervous, modest, and even fearful, meaning that she must be urged to come forward to the nuptial bed. The poet jokes fondly with the bridegroom about the impending consummation and describes the preparation of the nuptial chamber by Aphrodite, the Loves, and the Charites, though later writers used their Roman equivalents Venus, the Cupids, and the Graces. The poem then urges the consummation of the union whilst proffering advice to the couple. Towards the poem's close there is usually a congratulation on the couple's good fortune, and typically an invocation of favourable auspices or a prayer for offspring and a tranquil marriage before the concluding lines bid the pair farewell.[14] Following the Greek tradition, influential Roman authors took up the form, including Statius, who developed the genre into epic form, and Claudian, who turned his wedding poem into political propaganda.[15] Catullus, however, was the most important classical exemplum for Renaissance authors and it is to him that Julius Caesar Scaliger and George Puttenham, both authors

13 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 161; Loades, *Tudor Queens*, 196.

14 Virginia Tufte, *The Poetry of Marriage: The Epithalamium in Europe and Its Development in England* (Los Angeles: 1970), 12.

15 R. Chiappiniello, "The *Carmen ad uxorem* and the Genre of the Epithalamium", in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*, eds. Willemiem Otten and Karla Pollmann (Leiden: 2007), 115–138, at 119.

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of highly influential poetic style guides, refer as their prime model.[16] In these classical epithalamia the transition from virgin to wife was often portrayed as hesitant and a process of submission, but was not necessarily couched in terms of a defeat because what the bride relinquished in agency, she supposedly regained through "social acceptance" and a loyal husband.[17] Catullus elucidates this in his Carmen 62, likening a woman to a tender vine that can only become cultivated and reach upwards from its roots if it is "joined in marriage to the elm".[18]

Essential for interpreting the epithalamia of Junius and Mameranus are the descriptions of the bride's modesty, fear, and chastity, and the urging of consummation, which during the 16th century were all expanded from and further eroticized than their classical precedents, following a trend begun in 15th-century Italy that spread north of the Alps over the next one hundred years. The consummation of the marital union was also now more often depicted as a battleground upon which the husband overcame a resistant bride, a trend reflecting the early modern cultural conception that husbands achieved dominion over their wives upon marriage.[19] For example, the Italian poet Giovanni Pontano encourages the husband to act tenderly at first with "soft imploring, with soft jokes and little chuckles", but, when according to convention the bride denies the kisses, to then "sound the trumpet" and "brandish your weapon as, fierce, you inflict the wound of love".[20] Johannes Secundus, a prolific Dutch neo-Latinist, and later Scaliger and Puttenham, all centralize the subjugation of the bride and her transformation from chaste virgin to conquered wife until the trope became standard to the epithalamium.[21] For Scaliger, the

16 Julius Caesar Scaliger, "'On the Epithalamium' in Poetices Libri Septem", in *A Happier Eden: The Politics of Marriage in the Stuart Epithalamium* by Heather Dubrow, trans. Jackson Bryce (Ithaca: 1990), 271–296; George Puttenham, *The Arte of the English Poesie*, ed. Edward Arber (London: 1869), 68. 16th-century authors predominantly imitated Catullus' Carmen 61 and 64 because they exemplified three cornerstones of the genre: the erotic nature of the consummation, the social and political implications of the marriage, and its celebration as a religious event. See Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire: Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (Cambridge: 1969), 89.

17 Eastwood, "Shadow of the Queen", 5.

18 Catullus, "Carmen 62", in *Catullus, Tibullus, Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. Francis Warre Cornish, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: 2000), 89.

19 Ian Frederick Moulton, "Courtship, Sex, and Marriage", in *Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, eds. Andrew Hatfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Abigail Shinn (London: 2014), 133–148, at 140.

20 Giovanni Giovano Pontano, "De Nuptiis Ioannis Bracanti et Maritellae", in *Baiae*, trans. Rodney G. Dennis (Cambridge, Mass.: 2006), 56–58.

21 Puttenham, *Poesie*, 65–68; F.A. Wright, *The Love Poems of Joannes Secundus* (London: 1930), 226 ff., quoted in Forster, *Icy Fire*, 112. See the discussion generally at 112–115.

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bride must be "taken captive", "forcibly compelled", and fearful of "the coming wrestling match and victory".[22] And as Eastwood correctly observes, when authors applied the marital surrender from virgin to bride to the wedding of a female ruler such as Mary the genre became a particularly loaded form through which to either problematize or characterize female rule depending on how they ignored, abided by, or manipulated the established precedent.[23]

2 Junius's *Philippeis* and the Subjugation of Female Rule

Although Scaliger instructs the depiction of "mutual desire" between the bride and groom, this motif typically minimized female agency. The poet, he says, must reveal the bride to be initially reluctant before being forced to realize that she has reciprocal feelings. Against her will, she is made to favour the groom either because of his virtue, which "will provide her excuse", or by the irresistible influence of divine intervention.[24] Junius indicates Mary's reluctance to marry and preference for chastity by imagining that "until now the virgin has followed decidedly in the undefiled service of unwedded Pallas".[25] Then he describes how she was repeatedly urged to abandon her chastity by others rather than of her own volition. With Hymenaeus, for example, Mary must "loosen her girdle", while Venus "will give the *ceston*, and will fasten the lovers in a bind". And later Jupiter speaks to Mary on behalf of the other gods with such force that "Olympus trembled", commanding her to obey the will of the heavens and "grow tender with love of the great Philip".[26] Upon depicting the consummation of the marriage, Junius further accentuates Mary's resistance and explicitly enacts her defeat:

> Urania first rejoices at the loving meeting and she pressed hard to renew the bride's tenacious faith in her promises: she [i.e. Mary] recognised the Goddess, and by the rosy blush that sets her cheeks on fire testifies to a

22 Scaliger, "Epithalamium", 274.

23 Eastwood, "Shadow of the Queen", 4–5, 7.

24 Scaliger, "Epithalamium", 274.

25 "Hactenus innuptae castra intemerata secuta est / Palladis obnixe virgo", Junius, *Philippeis*, lines 95–96. Line numbers are used due to non-sequential signatures. Pallas was an epithet for Athena, who was also venerated as Parthenos, meaning "virgin", and was believed to have never married nor taken a lover.

26 "zonamque Hymenaeo / Soluat", "dabit ceston, nexuque ligabit amanteis", "Olympus / Intremuit", "magni tenerescat amore Philipi", ibid., lines 97–98, 101, 105–106, 114.

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> well-remembered honour: and by her charming face she modestly recalls what has been laid aside. Without delay, Cinxia despoils her girdle and loosens her belt (although her virginal shame and nature resists): and Hebe inspires the strength of Herculean vigour.[27]

Here, Junius takes full advantage of the generic convention to display Mary as resistant but nevertheless physically overpowered, publicly transforming her from reluctant virgin into "despoiled" wife.

Eastwood's article argues convincingly that Junius used the motif of the reluctant bride being overwhelmed to express his own view of female rule within a marriage setting. By focusing on her corporeal body, Junius presented Mary not as a governing queen, but as a virgin operating within a sexual hierarchy in which she is weaker than and therefore inferior to Philip. This portrayal, Eastwood explains, implied that Philip would not only gain physical control of Mary, but also political control over her realm.[28] Eastwood shows effectively how the epithalamic form "advances and mediates" the criticism of female rule, and yet her argument is perhaps cautious, claiming that the form simultaneously worked to obscure Junius's criticism amongst its conventional flattery and festivity, pushing its political content into the subtext.[29] I am not so sure, however, whether the festivity and flattery is there to obscure the political message as much as it is to celebrate and legitimize it openly.

As Junius draws attention to the shameful blushing of the bride in the above passage, he calls numerous classical forbears to his reader's mind: Statius' bride, "whose eyes are downcast as she blushes sweetly chaste", the "innocent tears" that are a sign of "maiden shame" in Claudian's verses, or the "noble shame" and

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27 "Occursu prima Vranie gratatur amico, / Dictorumque fidem nuptae refricare tenacem / Institit: illa Deam agnouit, roseoque rubore / Accendente genas memorem testatur honorem: / Depositique monet vultu pudibunda venusto. / Nec mora, dispoliat zonam, cinctumque resoluit / (Virgineus quamuis pudor, ingenuusque resistat) / Cinxia: & Herculei inspirat vim roboris Hebe", ibid., lines 590–597. Urania was commonly the Muse of astronomy, but more likely here an epithet for Aphrodite (Aphrodite Urania, or "the heavenly Aphrodite", as opposed to Aphrodite Pandemos who represented the lower sensual pleasures: cf. Pl. *Smp*, 181). Cinxia was another name for Juno, so called "from the loosing of the bride's girdle". See Thomas Keightley, *The Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy*, 2nd ed. (London: 1838), 512. "Herculean vigour" is probably an allusion to Propertius. "The passion of Hercules [Herakles], all afire for divine Hebe, tasted its first raptures after he had burned on an Oetean pyre". See *Elegies* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1990), 1.13. A fitting allusion, too, since Hebe was the daughter of Juno.

28 Eastwood, "Shadow of the Queen", 9–10.

29 Ibid., 10.

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resistant sobs before Venus in Catullus' Carmen 61. In all of these the bride's visible shame is caused by the thought of losing her virginity, but whereas Catullus reassures her that, though she might be submitting physically, there is much for her to gain ("your husband's home is yours, influential and goodly, allow it to serve you"), Junius provides no similar compensation.[30] When Mary's blushing "recalls that which was laid aside", Junius refers not just symbolically to her virginity, but prompts the reader to literally recall what was laid aside in earlier lines. Before Hymen appeared and relinquished Mary from Pallas' castle she was undergoing hardship, but she was also the predestined queen who rose to power following the death of her half-brother, Edward VI, and vanquished John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, and his regal ambitions. Junius describes how, as a "virgin", "from ruin she overthrew the great danger" and "opposed the savage efforts of the tyrant" because it was for her that "the British sceptres are furnished", establishing a clear bond between her physical maidenhood and her success in a political sphere. For him, though, this success cannot be sustained, since, as he continues to pray, "the royal line ought not to perish in virgin forfeiture".[31] He thus bluntly establishes a political need to end her virginity, and when later Mary blushes, it is not just for the loss of her maidenhood, but implicitly for the loss of her power, too.

After the consummation of the wedding, Junius no longer addresses Mary as the holder of the British sceptre. Instead, he ends his poem with a congratulation to the king and not the couple together:

> Come! See! O King who has been added to us with a felicitous omen from heaven! Welcome! O you who deservedly will rule the joint sceptres of the British world with wholesome justice. Clemently show mercy to those who have been subjected, and curb the arrogant with your hard command, and strive for the leisure of happy peace. Truly England, powerful with its arrows, will finally flourish with you as king, and the ages of ancient metal will return.[32]

30 Statius, "Wedding Ode in Honor of Stella and Violentilla", in *Silvae*, trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: 2015), 19; Claudian, "Fescinnina de Nuptiis Honorii Augusti", in *Claudian*, trans. Maurice Platnauer, vol. 1 (London: 1922), 237; Catullus, "Carmen 61" in *Catullus*, 73.

31 "ruit exitio praeceps", "aduersum molimina saeua tyranni", "sceptra Britanna parantur", "ne stirps regia damno / Virgineo intereat", Junius, *Philippeis*, lines 81, 83, 109, 89–90.

32 The "ages of ancient metal" is probably an allusion to Hesiod or Ovid's ages of man, which decline through the Golden, Silver, and Bronze ages, etc. See *Works and Days*, lines 109–201 and *Metamorphoses* 1.89–150, respectively. "Eia age felici diuinitus omine nobis / Addite

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This flattery does little, I would argue, to obscure its political message. Rather, it reinforces the final line of an epigram that directly follows *Philippeis*, from Junius to Philip, quoted by Eastwood: "to you *alone* has the harmony of the universe given this gift, the duty to manage the British sceptre".[33] Both passages anticipate Philip sequestering rule from Mary, a position that Junius explains and justifies through the epithalamic form. He explicitly emphasizes that this power shift has occurred, and that the sexual entails the political, by enclosing the transitional moment in the poem, the consummation, with a political description of to whom the British sceptres belong: first Mary, then Philip. In her article Streckfuss cites Junius as thinking that the marriage was "*spes maxima nostra*" (our greatest hope), but that hope, for him, was predicated on Mary's loss of sovereignty to Philip, as is made clear when an expanded translation is given: "a welcome foreigner, you arrive from far shores … a Prince, now our son-in-law, and our kingdom's greatest hope".[34] The poem does not particularly address English fears, then, nor was it one that could be considered politically astute. Junius, perhaps naively, hoped to achieve favour for his poem, but the king gave him just 36 gold crowns, which was not even enough to cover publication costs. Tellingly, he received nothing from Mary.[35] Whilst Alexander Samson suggests that this was because Philip was "disinterested in long-winded Latin panegyric", it might equally be because the poem, printed in London, did not promote the image of himself that the king was attempting to foster in England—that he arrived in the country as a native Englishman, not intending to take the reins of power from his bride.[36]

Rex salue, communia sceptra Britanni / Orbis iustitia merito recture salubri. / Parcito subiectis clemens, duroque superbos / Frenato imperio, et laetae sequere otia pacis. / Nempe sagittipotens tandem te Rege vigebit / Anglia, & antiqui reddentur saecla metalli", Junius, *Philippeis*, lines 693–699.

33 "Summarum hoc vni tibi conspiratio dotum, / Munus tractandi sceptra Britanna dedit", Junius, *Philippeis*, lines 15–16, quoted in Eastwood, "Shadow of the Queen", 9 (Eastwood's translation, my emphasis).

34 "optatus ades longinquis aduena ab oris / … Princeps, / Nunc noster gener, et regni spes maxima nostri", Junius, *Philippeis*, 399–402; Streckfuss, "'Spes Maxima Nostra,'" 145. The title of the article, citing Junius, reads *nostra*, but the text reads *nostri*.

35 Heesaker, "Ambassador of the Republic", 332.

36 Samson, "Changing Places", 166; Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 232–233. Philip's actions are considered in more detail below, as they are more pertinent to Mameranus's poem.

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3 Mameranus and the Union of Rulers

Mameranus composed the "Gratulatorium" and "Epithalamium" on Philip and Mary's wedding at the same time and published them together, perhaps taking his cue from Catullus' Carmen 64, which also comprises two significant parts, an epyllion followed by an epithalamium.[37] The "Gratulatorium" begins with a mythologised account of the king's journey to England across Tethys' blue waves. It imagines Philip battling with personified wind deities such as Eous, Aeolus, Subsolanus, "the icy Caurus", and "savage Aquilo" for safe passage in a rhetoric that evokes Aeneas' voyage at the opening of Virgil's *Aeneid*.[38] The mythologized account of the heroic journey fulfils, in part, Scaliger's instruction to describe the "mutual desire" of each party, which he said entailed recalling the groom's pursuit of the bride and the feats accomplished in her name. As has been shown above, the bride was supposed to be portrayed differently, as reluctantly compelled. Unlike Junius, who conforms to this expectation, Mameranus immediately establishes an alternative portrayal of Mary. Philip's betrothed eagerly awaits his arrival and the upcoming marriage. Amongst her people, Mameranus describes how she was overcome with "immeasurable waves of joy and passion" because the king was "a gift from God" who was there "to aid them".[39] Later in the work, Mary gives a speech telling Philip how she "waited daily", praying that God would deliver her husband to her. After congratulating him on his arrival, she bids him eagerly, "now, with my royal protection, go … I welcome you to our hearth".[40] Mameranus has Mary orchestrating the arrival in these passages, as historians believe she actually did. By greeting Philip with a large number of nobles, sending gifts to him, and controlling how and when they first met, Sarah Duncan shows, Mary was "exercising a traditional prerogative of the royal bridegroom or ruler".[41] It is unlikely that Mameranus was implying this kind of role reversal, but giving Mary such agency was a deliberate part of his portrayal of her as a ruler in her own right—one who was making an autonomous decision for the benefit of her people, and he subverts the traditional role of reluct-

37 These are typically read in unison, a practice followed here for Mameranus. See, for example, Tufte, *Poetry of Marriage*, 30–36. The *Gratulatorium* also contains another poem at the end, "In D. Philippi …", but this is a reprint (the original was published in Louvain in 1549 as *D. Philippo* …) and not composed specifically as part of the wedding celebration.

38 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Aiii; Virgil. *Aeneid*, I. 77–152.

39 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sigs. Aiii–Aiv.

40 Ibid., sig. Diii.

41 Duncan, *Mary I*, 71.

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ant bride in epithalamia to make this autonomy explicit. Rather than being secured in the castle of Pallas only to be drawn out by Hymen, Mary longs for Philip, inviting him into her home and offering him royal protection. Her actions are sovereign and display political efficacy as the governor of her kingdom.

Mameranus never eroticizes Mary, nor shows her to be fearful of the marriage, reluctant, nor a blushing virgin awaiting conquest as does Junius. That is not to say that he was ignorant of the sexual motifs normal in Renaissance epithalamia, nor was avoiding erotic descriptions of physical beauty his usual *modus operandi*. His *Epithalamium generosi juvenis* (1553), composed for Catherine, the daughter of the German banker Anthony Fugger, on her marriage to Count Jacob of Montfort, shows he could compose an erotically charged nuptial song that relied upon the motif of the impending consummation to achieve its aim. In the *Epithalamium generosi juvenis*, Catherine receives more attention than the groom because Mameranus counted the Fuggers among his patrons.[42] When describing her, he mentions that she is "of a bright mind", but predominantly accentuates her physical appearance, identifying her virginity as the foundation of her moral virtue.[43] Reminiscent of Statius' epithalamium for Lucius Stella and Violentilla, which depicted her "snow-white limbs"[44] amid roses, lilies, and violets, Catherine Fugger is

> a girl with distinguished beauty, and chaste decency: just as when a rosy complexion is mixed with snow-white ivory, and just as when milky things are pleasing if tinted with purple signs, perfused with a bit of red mixed in: thus her face is resplendent with whites and the red blood of a virgin and the radiance being diffused throughout her whole body, no blemish is underneath, nor ugly birthmark upon her body.[45]

This sensual description of the bride, contrasting pale skin with reds and purples, is similar to Junius's description of Mary as she advances to the nuptial

42 He probably sought and received from them ample remuneration for his work. See Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 80–82.

43 "nitidae sic mentis", Nicolaus Mameranus, *Epithalamium generosi iuvenis* (Augsburg: 1553), sig. Aii.

44 "niveos … artus", Statius, *Silvae*, 1.2.21.

45 "Insigni forma, castoque pudore puella: / Vt roseus niueo color est cum mixtus eburno, / Atque ut purpureis, si quando lactea signis / Tincta placent, mixto tenui perfusa rubore: / Sic lucet niueis rutilo cum sanguine vultus / Virginis & toto diffusus copore candor, / Nula subest labes, vel turpis corpore veuus", Mameranus, *Epithalamium generosi juvenis*, sig. Aii.

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bedroom. There, Mary is compared to "the purple amaranth with its soft leaves [that] stands out among the red violets and marigolds".[46]

Only for Catherine does Mameranus use such sensuality to portray the bride's corporeal beauty, so that the couple's later achievement, remaining abstinent, was more praiseworthy. Aware of the "upcoming battle", the husband "warms her in soft embrace, and while she speaks coaxingly, he frequently seizes sweet kisses from tender lips".[47] But then she begs that "the pure barriers of chastity might remain unviolated for a short while",[48] and so together they quell "raging desire" so that "respect will be given to this such great sacrament of marriage".[49] Mameranus knew that objectifying the bride's physical desirability, in typical epithalamia, was a precursor to the inevitable, despoiling consummation, and therefore whilst he employed it to his advantage in *Epithalamium generosi juvenis*, he could not risk provoking the same type of implications in his *Gratulatorium* and actively suppressed it. Placing words into his mouth, Mameranus has Philip instead praise Mary for qualities befitting a spiritual union. There are two kinds of beauty, the first is a "blind love of corporeal beauty" that is animalistic, which is transient and perishable and often associated with great vice. The queen, though he admits she is old (she was 38 at the time, whereas Philip was just 27), possesses another type, a "brightness that comes from a beautiful mind, and the conspicuous glory of virtues, and graceful soul". Although Mameranus takes care to depict Mary as being physically attractive as well, his effort is lacklustre, too general, and void of sexuality: she is simply a "single beauty from all girls" despite her years.[50] His words were a kindness contrasting the often cited comments made by Philip's Spanish entourage: Ruy Gómez de Silva, for example, who claimed Mary was "old and flabby", the anonymous gentleman "present at all ceremonies" who described her as "not at all beautiful, small, and rather flabby than fat", and the Venetian ambassador who said she was thin and declining in beauty.[51]

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46 "Aut qualis violas inter caltasque rubentes. / Purpureus foliis Amarantus mollibus extat", Junius, *Philippeis*, line 588–589.

47 "belli … futuri", "fouet molli amplexu, blandoque loquentem, / Dulcia de teneris crebro rapit oscula labris", Mameranus, *Epithalamium generosi juvenis*, sig. Cii.

48 "Casta pudicitiae maneant si illaesa parumper / Claustra", ibid., sig. Cii(v).

49 "libido furens", "sacramento dabitur reuerentia tanto / Coniugii", ibid., Ciii.

50 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sigs. Diii(v)–iv.

51 *CSP Span*, XIII: 6, 31; *CSP Ven*, V: 532. These sources are cited by many, including López, "Great Faith", 120–121, 123; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 162; Antonio Martinez Llamas, *Felipe II: El hombre* (Leon: 2009), 182; Anna Riehl, *The Face of Queenship: Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I* (New York: 2010), 28.

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Whilst Mameranus occasionally praises Mary as a "dedicated virgin", there is much greater emphasis on her political status, on how "the Queen alone is the heir of her father's kingdom legitimately approved of by every law", and on her capacity as a divinely appointed ruler to return the country from its previous iniquity and sedition.[52] He marvels at how "the divine God of heaven thought her *alone* worthy of leading all these people and of ruling well", and described how "through her the kingdom thus wanted to be restored":[53]

> Then also might the entire population be amazed at the same time at this, that a singular woman could undo such savage upheavals, through which the kingdom, on fire everywhere, was horribly seething and quickly restore everything to its former peace.[54]

This was similar language to Junius's, but where the latter had praised Mary as the wielder of the British sceptre only before her marriage and then transferred it to Philip at the end of the poem, Mameranus instead has the queen retaining her right and ability to rule throughout the *Gratulatorium*, and at the end of the "Epithalamium" has his chorus pray that "both of them cherish the advantages of noble royal power".[55] Primarily, his was a co-monarchy of equality.

Anticipating anxiety over how power would be shared in this new union, Mameranus reminded his readers that "God wished to join him to her as her husband: always with consideration contemplating the public good".[56] And rather than having Philip take control of the government of the realm from Mary, the poet presents a unification of their political bodies in a passage that deliberately obfuscates any division of roles:

> This is a heavenly vision showing your ceremonial rites, proper to such a great feast, full of pregnant divine will: the two greatest heads of two great states enter upon firm marriage, by which two are united into one, for the public good. And may many kingdoms at the same time take up the holy laws, under one prince, so that they thus are reduced unto one person and an eternal rule under divine law. May whoever is devout restore all things

52 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Biv.
53 My emphasis. Ibid., sig. Ci.
54 Ibid., sig. Cii.
55 Ibid., sig. Eiv(v).
56 Ibid., sig. Ci.

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> to their old peace so that there may be from now on one king, one law and one faith: and may all together bring back quiet days and sweet times of a happy life under one prince.[57]

This was to be a "bond of such great rulers", one, he suggested as he recounted the previous unions of the House of Castile and the royal line of England, that had occurred many times as "blood was mixed between these Kings".[58] Rather than depoliticize Mary's body and depict her as a subjugated bride, as Junius does, Mameranus refers to her as a "mighty Queen", to the couple equally as "heroes", and when they are wed, he writes, they are united in "the two greatest pledges of Kings".[59] By shifting attention away from her corporeal body, and refusing to cast her in a delicate, sensual light, or as an object of physical desire, Mameranus redressed the typically imbalanced gender hierarchy prevalent within epithalamia and elevated Mary from a position in which she awaited conquest at the hands of her husband. This subversion of the expected motif throws considerable doubt onto the claim that Mameranus was lauding her merely conventionally.

Thanks to the Act of Parliament of spring 1554, which ensured the "kingely or regal offyce of the realme" was able to be "invested eyther in male or female", Mary's sovereignty was supported by the legal provision that she could be both king and queen. But, as a number of historians have noted, many contemporary commentators believed the marriage would undo this.[60] By styling her with dual offices, Mameranus publicly denied this undoing and instead spoke to his Habsburg readers in support of the official domestic sentiment. He bolstered Mary's political status to achieve a balance between the royal couple that did not topple when they were wed. This aimed to satisfy English readers, but also those on the Continent: because Mary was the legitimate ruler of her people, she was therefore a worthy match for Philip in the eyes of the Habsburgs.

Just as portraying Mary as politically autonomous was a central concern of Mameranus's poem, so too was ensuring that his depiction of Philip appeased both the Habsburgs and the English. Historians trying to better understand the power dynamics within Philip and Mary's co-monarchy disagree over the king's private intentions. Samson and Anna Maria López, for example, both

57 Ibid., sig. Cii.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., sigs. Cii(v), Div(v).

60 "Anno Mariae Primo Actes Made in the Parlyament" (London: 1554), fol. 2(r-v), quoted in Judith M. Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy", *The Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997): 895–924, at 904; López, "Great Faith", 129.

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cite the same piece of correspondence from Philip to his father, Charles V, from 18 November 1554, to argue the opposite thing. Samson, taking a remark made by Philip in regard to the French state of Siena (rather than England, an acknowledgement perhaps missing from his argument), quotes the following: "I am anxious to show the whole world by my actions that I am not trying to acquire other peoples' states, and your Majesty I would convince of this not by my actions only, but by my very thought". Samson claims this shows that Philip was "far from Machiavellian" and happily forged an effective role for himself as an administrative aid in England rather than expecting to be politically dominant.[61] López, on the other hand, quotes the same dispatch and Philip's statement that "the queen and her council will be at my disposal" because "being that I am her husband, she and all her kingdom must follow my will".[62] López claims that this shows Philip believed that as Mary's husband he would be "the dominant half of this married couple" and gain political power over her.[63] What López in turn perhaps overlooks is that this statement was a carefully crafted response written to give a false impression to the French ambassador. As Philip writes, "we [i.e. Mary and Philip] talked the matter over, and came to the conclusion that the French were trying to discover how far the queen and her council would be prepared to follow me were I bent on making war … Consequently it seemed best so to frame the answer as clearly to show them that the Queen and Council were mine to command".[64]

These two recent and contrasting arguments show that Philip's private intentions remain contested. But equally important, if not more so for understanding the wider political climate and the tensions surrounding the marriage, are Philip's public expressions. How he comported himself is more obvious than what he thought privately, and perhaps just as significant because many contemporaries believed that his public actions were indicative of his intentions towards the government of England. Certainly they had a broader impact. The Imperial ambassador Simon Renard, for example, expressed in his guidance for Philip that "he will be well-advised to caress the nobility and be affable" in order to "prove that he wishes to take no share in the administration".[65] Mameranus also recognised the importance of publicising Philip's intentions. After

61 *CSP Span*, XIII: 97. See Samson, "Changing Places", 166, 165–169.

62 "La reyna y los del consejo estarán a mi disposición", "ella, siendo yo su marido, ha de seguir mi voluntad con todo su reyno", Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Corpus Documental Carlos V*, vol. 4 (Salamanca: 1979), 130, trans. López, "Great Faith", 130.

63 López, "Great Faith", 130.

64 *CSP Span*, XIII: 97.

65 Simon Renard, 'Notes for Prince Philip's Guidance in England', quoted in Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 231; Samson, "Changing Places", 165–167.

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writing of the king's long and arduous journey to Southampton, he describes how the English nobles came to the port to meet him. Whereas a large number of other publications on the wedding discuss Philip receiving the Order of the Garter here, Mameranus omits this detail.[66] Instead, he invented a set of speeches given by the nobles, Philip, and Mary, in order to appropriately frame the political context of the marriage for his readers.[67] According to the poet, the English nobles announced that

> when you [Philip] will wish it, then we will surrender to you the crown of the kingdom: because now we wish to be yours: we and simultaneously all men long to be yours, and we wish in all things always to be made your subject, and a humble population, servants and clients, to whatever you will wish.[68]

Alongside this obsequious statement, the nobles celebrate Philip's arrival as a ruler who will defend them from the ongoing religious schism that engulfed much of Europe. These words are similar to those that Junius himself expresses to Philip in his "Congratulations to the King", and left without a reply would

66 Elder, *Copie of a Letter*, sig. Aiii; *Newe Zeytung. Was sich jetzt verschidenen tagen / Mit des Printzen ankunfft inn Engellandt … z*[*u*]*getragen hat* (Augsburg: 1554), sig. Aiii; *Copia d'una lettera scritta all'illustriss. S. Francesco Taverna Crancanz. etc. da uno gentil'huomo della Corte del Sereniss. Re di Spagna, da Vincestre alli. xxv. di Giulio del felicissimo viaggio in Inghilterra, & delli Sponsaliti fatti conquella Serenissima Regina …* (Milan: 1554), sig. Aiii; *Seker nieuwe tijdinge hoe dat de Prince van Spaengien triumphelick aengecome*[*n*] *is in Enghelandt, midtsgaders de bruyloft te Winchestre ghehouden*. (Antwerp: 1554), sig. Biv(v); *Narratione assai piu particolare della prima, del viaggio, et dell'entrata del Serenissimo Prencipe di Spagna, al presente Re d'Inghilterra, fatta in quel Regno, con l'ordine di tutte le cerimonie, & titoli, seguite nel felicissimo matrimonio di sua Maesta con la Serenissima Regina …* (Rome: 1554), 2; G.A. Albicante, *Il sacro et divino Sponsalitio del gran Philippo d'Austria et della sacra Maria Regina d'Inghilterra …* (Milan: 1554), fol. 4. See Streckfuss, "'Spes Maxima Nostra,'" 148, n. 15.

67 Although it is likely that upon his arrival certain members of the nobility did make some kind of speech, the sources used most often by historians hold no record of the specific words spoken. John Elder writes that "the Lordes of the counsel & diuerse other Noble men, most louyngly welcomed him", and a member of the Venetian ambassadorial delegation sent to England writes that they "greeted his Highness with most humble reverence" (*salutando sua Altezza con humilissime riuerenze*), but neither Edwards nor Loades, who have scoured the majority of these sources, can confirm any details of a speech. Elder, *Copie of a Letter*, sig. Aiii; Raviglio Rosso, *Historia*, fol. 59(b), translation kindly provided by Dr. John Stephen Edwards. David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 1992), 224–225; Edwards, *Mary I*, 182.

68 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Di.

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have no doubt incited English fears, however Mameranus is tactful enough to have the king respond immediately, his hands outstretched to them:

> No lighter consideration of this royal power ever fell upon me before, or a desire to rule, such that something like this, to take up the reigns of the English kingdom, did not enter my mind, not even in my wandering dreams.[69]

While he would "by no means loudly refuse what has been offered", and complained of the "vast concern and anxiety" such a charge placed on him, he made it clear to the nobles that "in return for these things, and for you, great gratitude is owed".[70] But most importantly, he concluded, he would ensure that he would not meddle in their affairs:

> Furthermore what the privileges of your kingdom are, and its liberties, and its manners of custom, and whatever else, and what things of the ancient Religion, observing the old and sacred worship of God, the public advantages of all spread widely throughout the kingdom, and if anything else exists which might move you: you must consider me not to have come to you for these things because I would want to be a fierce destroyer or evil exciser of them (for such an act, who would consider it in his tainted heart?). But on the other hand I always want to be a protector, a faithful conserver and the pious champion and defender everywhere, and the supporter and kind collator of the ancestors: as befits the just and the good king in all time: and this is the duty of the just and pious King.[71]

These sentiments correlate with a report made by the French ambassador, Antoine de Noailles to Henry II on 27 July 1554, describing a speech Philip gave to the nobility at the Church of the Holy Rood in Southampton on the evening of his arrival. Noailles says that the prince impressed upon the nobility that it was not his intention to increase his estate nor the greatness of his wealth and power, but instead to live among them as an Englishman, not a foreign prince.[72] The report is rarely referred to by modern historians because Noailles' ability to

69 Ibid., sig. Dii.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., sig. Dii(r-v).

72 Noailles to Henry II, 27 July 1554, René Aubert Vertot, ed., *Ambassades de Messieurs De Noailles en Angleterre*, vol. 3 (Leiden: 1763), 286.

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remain accurately informed about events has been called into question,[73] yet it is plausible that Philip made a similar speech to the nobles in Latin giving such intentions because it was an impression he is known to have attempted to foster on numerous occasions whilst in England.[74] The primary function of the widely published official genealogy, for example, which was also ceremonially displayed during the pageantry staged by the City of London on 18 August, was to portray Philip as a natural Englishman descended from Edward III rather than as a conqueror leading an invasion.[75] And at the wedding ceremony the king dressed in English clothing and drank English beer to show deference to native customs.[76]

Having Philip give a fictional speech in the *Gratulatorium* in which he accepts the crown of England but declines any incisive role in government was an act of stage management by Mameranus to try to publicly address both the Spanish expectation that Philip would be crowned and the English fear of foreign interference in their polity. It was the same public impression that Philip himself was wrestling with and there is a clear parallel in attitude between his actions, as they are known to historians, and the impression given by the speeches Mameranus composed in his poem. Importantly, Mameranus's tactful approach to defining Philip's role as King of England correlated with the Habsburgs' general attitude to imperial government. Their rulers typically acquired territory through inheritance rather than by conquest and their monarchical policies usually entailed recognising each as independent. As a result, the customs and privileges of new territories were largely protected.[77] By envisioning this policy in *Gratulatorium* Mameranus demonstrates a political acuity no doubt garnered from his years chronicling the dynastic successes of the Habsburg Empire, and his writing clearly opposes Junius's strategy. At

73 Harry Kelsey is the only historian I have found who utilises the Noailles source without calling its authenticity into question in *Philip of Spain King of England: The Forgotten Sovereign* (London: 2012), 78–79; Martin A.S. Hume, "The Visit of Philip II", *The English Historical Review* 7, no. 26 (1892): 253–280, at 254–255; E. Harris Harbison, "French Intrigue at the Court of Queen Mary", *The American Historical Review* 45, no. 3 (1940): 533–551, at 535–536.

74 López, "Great Faith", 124–126.

75 John Christopherson, *An Exhortation to All Menne to Take Hede and Beware of Rebellion* (London: 1554), sigs. Mv–vi(v). Simon Renard and Antoine de Noailles both claim to have seen the official genealogy. Noailles to Henry II, 4 May 1554, *Ambassades*, vol. 3, 188–190; Simon Renard to the Emperor, 6 May 1554, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 12, 1554*, vol. XII (London: 1949), 242.

76 Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2008), 16.

77 Edwards, *Mary I*, 205.

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the conclusion to his *Philippeis*, for example, Junius reaches the heights of his praise for Philip, welcoming his arrival as a bringer of peace to the nation, and then in his most flattering gesture yet, has the king arrive in the guise of the very same Jupiter who first commanded the marriage:

> But you, whether as Jupiter you now enjoy fooling mortal senses and being carried by your armsbearing bird or I will call you some other god in altered form, rule forever with just laws and royal council these peoples of the north … And may there not be a dire desire that cheats our children and later grandchildren of your divine power. And may you be late in seeking heaven, which from that point onwards will be tottering to the right under your weight.[78]

With Mary mentioned nowhere, Junius explicitly enacts the emergence of the future polity he desired, and it was one where Philip reigned supreme.

This conclusion was the complete opposite of how Mameranus chose to end his own celebration of the wedding. In his, he chose a Chorus of Muses. Clio, Melpomine, Thalia, Euterpe, Terpsichore, and their other sisters give favourable auspices and advice drawn from mythological, classical, and biblical exemplars, before Apollo finishes with the following words.[79]

> Because the omnipotent Father has joined you in one bond,
> So that there is one fate of a lawful marriage bed for both of you:

78 "Tu vero, seu nunc mortaleis fallere sensus / Iuppiter, armigera & vectarier alite gaudes: / Seu te aliquem superum mutata dixero forma: / Aeternum hos populos Arctoo quotquot in orbe / Viuimus, & rege consilio, & rege legibus aequis. / Nec fraudare tuo veniat tibi dira cupido / Numine venturam sobolem, serosque nepotes. / Inde tuo nutabundum sub pondere dextrum / Axem fac serus repetas", Junius, *Philippeis*, lines 647–655.

79 When composing the verses, it seems Mameranus had a copy of an epithalamium by Erasmus for Pieter Gillis (1524) in front of him. Not only are the names and order of the Muses almost identical apart from the final one (Erasmus used Polyhymnia), but the messages given also reference the same classical figures for the same reasons. Erasmus, "Epithalamium Petri Aegidii", in *Collected Works of Erasmus v. 39 Colloquies*, trans. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto: 1997), 525. These Muses and their messages are very similar to his *Epithalamium* for Catherine Fugger. In the *Epithalamium*, the message of Apollo in particular draws together the moral instruction that the poet impressed upon the couple throughout: the Lord favours a pure love and a chaste sexual union by those who overcome the baser passions of fornicators and adulterers, but for Philip and Mary in the *Gratulatorium* he sings a very different message. A similar ensemble can also be found in Nicolaus Mameranus, *Officium boni Episcopi* (Augsburg: 1550), sigs. Aii(v)-Aiii.

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and one love always combines both into one:
And may the love of each at the same time be the other's law:
May they be of one mind always, as if ruling in one body:
So that there is one body, female, and man simultaneously,
Such that each in turn may care for the things in common with the other,
And at the same time all possessions, a guard of life and mind:
It remains that you conform to the example of those,
And that both of you wish always to live mindfully.
Therefore each will avoid dishonouring
The oaths and legitimate faith of the legitimate marriage bed.
Then both of you shall proceed to God to claim your
seats in heaven, after the fate of old age.[80]

God combining two bodies into one mirrors Genesis 2:24, later echoed in Matthew 19:5–6, and expanded upon by Paul in Ephesians 5:28–31. Mameranus's allusion to these texts, and his reading of the passages as indicating equality and the mutual reciprocation of care between a husband and wife are significant because the Bible was more ambiguous. In Genesis, "bone of my bones, flesh of my flesh" and the union of "two in one flesh" expresses equality, or as Paul writes, "[s]o also ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. For no man ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it" (Ephesians 5:28–29). This statement is balanced, however, by the one preceding it that says "women be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord" (Ephesians 5:22), and the concluding verse, "let every one of you in particular love for his wife as himself: And let the wife fear her husband" (Ephesians 5:33).[81]

80 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Eiv(v).

81 A useful overview, which I have largely followed, is found in Robert Matz, Henry Smith, and William Whately, eds., *Two Early Modern Marriage Sermons: Henry Smith's A Preparative to Marriage (1591) and William Whately's A Bride-Bush (1623)* (London: 2016), 14–23. Incidentally, these passages formed the basis of the words Juan Luis Vives once had for Mary. He had devised the young princess's course of study in *De ratione studii puerilis* (October 1524), and earlier in the same year in *De institutione feminae Christianae* he had declared Matthew 19:5 as the foundation of marriage. Vives had instructed that "she is one person with her husband and for that reason should love him no less than herself. I have said this before, but it must be repeated often, for it is the epitome of all the virtues of a married woman". However, he continued, much like Paul, to write that "even if one is created out of two, the woman is still the daughter of the man and weaker, and for that reason needs his protection", a message which reflected overall his conclusion that the wife ought to be obedient to her husband. Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-*

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Choosing to portray this gender imbalance would have aligned Mameranus with the majority of early modern writers on marriage, who concluded from Ephesians that female subordination was the only plausible solution to what was otherwise a two-headed monster, and indeed would have conformed to the inequality typically expressed within epithalamia.[82] He chose instead to emulate Paul only in regard to the mutual care and affection between husband and wife, their duty towards each other, and their unity as one body. In doing so, he emulated the same imagery of unification, both political and personal, as many of Mary's own English supporters. For example, the playwright John Heywood in *The Spider and the Flie* (1556) asked his readers to think of the couple as

> Conioyned one: in matrimoniall trayne;
> Both one also in auctorite regall:
> These two thus made one: bothe one here we call.
> Which two thus one, reioyse we eueriechone.
> And these two thus one, obey we all as one.[83]

Mameranus's Apolline verses, then, are the climax of a poem that repeatedly refuses generic convention in order to give a balanced political interpretation of the events in England, one keenly sympathetic to the concerns of both the polities involved. In comparison, Junius's poem contains a host of political implications that favour Philip over Mary, so much so that Junius's work might even be described as clumsy had he hoped to find favour with the queen. For the two authors, celebrating the marriage of Philip and Mary for the glory of the Habsburgs entailed two completely opposed stances on the queen's authority that are easy to miss on a cursory reading. When scholars view them as uncomplicated propaganda, this treats superficially encomiastic epithalamia permeated with complex expressions of political speech that are heavily indebted for their effect to a manipulation of their genre, and to a narrative-encouraging form—long verse paragraphs of dactylic hexameter.

Century Manual, trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: 2000), 177, 186. See the discussion in Constance M. Furey, "Bound by Likeness: Vives and Erasmus on Marriage", in *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700*, eds. Daniel Lochman and Maritere López, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: 2016), 29–44, at 33.

82 Frances E. Dolan, *Marriage and Violence: The Early Modern Legacy* (Philadelphia: 2008), 23–27, esp. 27; Moulton, "Courtship, Sex and Marriage", 140–141.

83 John Heywood, *The Spider and the Flie: Reprinted from the Ed. of 1556* (New York: 1967), 455. See Duncan, *Mary I*, 166.

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As Mameranus envisioned Philip and Mary's marital union and praised their virtuous behaviour towards each other, he was presenting an idealized vision of their relationship that he hoped would be realised in the coming years, relaying, as he claimed, "the certainty of heaven" in his verse.[84] In two years he would finally travel to England, and there he would discover whether or not his vision had come true.

84 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Cii(v).

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CHAPTER 4

Reassessing 1557: The Reunion of the Anglo-Habsburg Monarchy

On 2 February 1557 Philip instructed his principal advisor, Ruy Gómez de Silva, to journey to England and inform Mary of his intention to return to her. "I am determined to form an army and a powerful fleet", he wrote, and from his wife and her parliament he was "confident" that he could extract a declaration of war against the French. In Brussels he was busy mounting a new military expedition into Picardy and from Mary he expected financial aid and an English army at whose head he could ride, eager to prove his martial prowess on a European stage.[1] But when Mary presented the proposition to her Privy Council they replied with the *consulta*, a document that cited the terms of the marriage treaty to vehemently deny that England was bound to aid the king, and which asserted that the country would be "utterly unable to mayntayn" a war that "in deed is both dishonourable and may be many waies dangerous to this realme".[2] On 1 April the council repeated its refusal with further determination, this time in Philip's presence, and so Mary privately summoned the individual members to her rooms where, according to the French ambassador François de Noailles, she threatened them, "some with death, others with the loss of their goods and estates, if they did not consent to the will of her husband".[3] They soon capitulated, and the resulting war led to a defeat that for almost five hundred years epitomized the failure of Mary's reign: the French capture, at the turn of the New Year, of Calais, England's last stronghold on the Continent.[4]

Judith Richards has reassessed the loss, arguing that it "was not necessarily viewed as a disaster by all Englishmen" despite the heavy toll it took on the queen's morale.[5] Richards carefully frames the country's entrance into the Habsburg-Valois conflict as a sovereign move made in response to "the

1 *CSP Span*, XIII: 286; Parker, *Imprudent King*, 52.

2 British Library Cotton MSS, Titus C VII, fols. 198 et. seq., quoted in Loades, *Reign of Mary Tudor*, 189.

3 Correspondance Politique, Angleterre, Vol. XIII, fol. 191, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris, quoted in Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 288; Loades, *A Life*, 275.

4 Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, "Introduction", in *Old and New Perspectives*, 1–20, at 8–9.

5 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 222.

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case [Philip] laid before his wife" (as opposed to being "in the service of her husband's Habsburg ambitions", as Anna Whitelock suggests).[6] Nevertheless, Richards still contends that for Mary, 1557 was a year that from its outset was doomed by impending events beyond her control. For example, in contrast to the end of 1554 when the queen had "every reason for high optimism", the close of 1556 was, for Richards, a period when "Mary's hopes were crumbling around her and continued to fade in the next two years" as she was beset by "conspiracy", "rumours", "war", and "problems with the papacy".[7]

Whitelock, David Loades, and Harry Kelsey are similarly despondent. Like Richards they give London's celebration of Philip's arrival in the spring of 1557 only cursory mention, relying on the manuscript chronicle of the local clothier Henry Machyn to do little more than set the stage for "the true purpose of Philip's visit": the political manoeuvring for war ("a prospect", we are told, that "very few Englishmen were happy with").[8] When discussing religion, the predominant focus is the antipathy of Pope Paul IV towards Cardinal Pole, whose papal legatine status was revoked in April as he was recalled to Rome to face charges of heresy.[9] Alongside this we hear frequently that the year was marked by the gloom of the crown's financial difficulties, the failure of harvests, the impending influenza epidemic, the conspiracy and treason of Henry Dudley and Thomas Stafford, and at the year's close, Mary's second false pregnancy. In fact, the picture of Marian England that emerges from these and other recent narratives bears an unfortunate resemblance to the report the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Michiel wrote in April 1557. In a passage that is often quoted for its vivid imagery of the queen, he described how,

> in the darkness and obscurity of that kingdom she remained precisely like a feeble light buffeted by raging winds for its utter extinction …

6 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 212; Whitelock, "Woman, Warrior, Queen?", 179. A particularly unsympathetic account by John Guy describes Philip as able to "force" Mary to conform to his will, and in two pages describes the queen's "depression" and "humiliation", and the "catastrophe" of Calais in last years of her reign, in *The Children of Henry VIII* (Oxford: 2013), 172–173.

7 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 203–204, 207, 210, 214, 216.

8 Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 286; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 204–205; Kelsey, *Philip of Spain*, 128–132; D.M. Loades, *Intrigue and Treason: The Tudor Court, 1547–1558* (London: 2004), 206–207.

9 Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 286–295; Kelsey, *Philip of Spain*, 130–144. While John Edwards does point to religious successes during the later periods of Mary's reign, his account of 1557 is largely concerned with the manner in which England was threatened from abroad, both by the papacy and the French, leaving little room to discuss the domestic atmosphere, in *Mary I*, 293–308; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 213–216.

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> amongst her afflictions, what she chiefly laments is the fruitlessness of her marriage, and consequently the dangers which threaten the restoration of the Catholic religion … she is also greatly grieved by the insurrections, conspiracies, and plots formed against her daily, both at home and abroad.[10]

Linda Porter, however, provides a welcome reminder that the beginning of 1557 was a period of much genuine success for Mary, that there was "triumph" before the "embarrassment" of Calais.[11] The declaration of war against Henry II in June brought about a victory that summer at St. Quentin (France) and it was widely (if spuriously) reported that Mary's English troops had been first through the breach. As much as this was a "catastrophe for French military pride", it was a boon to England's own. *Te Deums* were sung in all the London churches to the accompaniment of "bone-fyres and drynkynge in evere strett",[12] and Philip even commissioned a magnificent stained glass window in the Church of St. John in Gouda to commemorate the victory.[13] At the year's end Mary was confident she was with child—sufficiently so even to tell Philip. A pregnancy this late in her life (she was now 41) may have been scoffed at by some observers, but to her it reignited the chance of an Anglo-Habsburg dynastic succession, and it prompted Pedro de Ocaña, a visitor to her court in February 1558, to announce that he "saw that she was with child, and living in retirement, as is

10 *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 6, 1555–1558*, vol. VI (ii) (London: 1877), ii, 1055–1056. Whitelock, in fact, bases an entire chapter titled "Readiness for Change" on the ambassador's report and, quoting selectively, describes how Giovanni Michiel believed Mary had degenerated into a "queen of regrets", in *Mary Tudor*, 296–298. David Loades writes that although March to July 1557 "marked an Indian summer of happiness for the queen", "this should not disguise the fact that a steady decline had set in". Indeed, his title for the chapter is "The declining years, 1555–8", in *Intrigue and Treason*, 214–249, at 214; López, "Great Faith", 124; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 212–222. In an earlier study Loades reveals such precognition as early as late 1556, suggesting that "the coming war was casting its shadow before it" even then. See his *Reign of Mary Tudor*, 259, also 192–193, 260–261; Henry Kamen writes simply, "Mary was ill. There were plots brewing". See his *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: 1997), 66; C.S.L. Davies, "England and the French War, 1557–9", in *The Mid-Tudor Polity C1540–1560*, eds. Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (London: 1980), 159. M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado writes that the "natural disasters combined with political and military failure and created an atmosphere of death and decay at the close of Mary's reign" in *Changing Face*, 195, see also 202.

11 Porter, *Mary Tudor*, 390–395.

12 Machyn, *Diary*, 147; Edwards, *Mary I*, 297; Whitelock, "Woman, Warrior, Queen?", 179.

13 Parker, *Imprudent King*, 93.

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the custom of the country. They say it is quite certain that she is pregnant".[14] In early summer good weather led to predictions of a bumper harvest and so, in anticipation of a sudden price drop, the grain that had so far been withheld from the market was released, reducing public concerns about famine and providing a brief reprieve from the great dearth afflicting not just England, but much of the Netherlands and France as well.[15] Whilst Mary was in financial trouble, and the crown in debt, she had worked diligently throughout her reign to increase her revenues through a series of resented but largely successful subsidies that culminated on 20 May 1557. She may have been "straining every nerve to keep her own head above water", as Loades has suggested, but at least she was not forced into bankruptcy that year like both her husband and the French king.[16]

The year 1557 saw the most dogged persecution of heresy of the reign, with at least 84 dissidents burned at the stake. And where once this would have been an indicator that Mary's cruelty and the failure of her program for religious renewal had hit its nadir, it has now been suggested that in many ways this was a successful aspect—indeed perhaps even "the only viable option"—of a much wider anti-heresy strategy that was organized, controlled, and effective.[17] Archdeacon Nicholas Harpsfield's 1557 visitation of 243 parishes in Kent revealed that significant progress was being made to restore the artefacts of religious devotion and to successfully direct popular piety towards emerging Counter-Reformation practices such as the Adoration of the Cross at Easter and a renewed emphasis on Christ and his Passion.[18] The year also witnessed the reopening of the Observant Franciscan friary in Southampton, the revival of the old Blackfriars in Littlegate, the first fully operational year of the newly restored Westminster Abbey, and, thanks in particular to Philip's influence, the re-establishment of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (Hospitallers) at

14 *CSP Span*, XIII: 363; Duncan, *Mary I*, 170.

15 Loades, *A Life*, 279–280; Davies, "England and the French War", 162.

16 Loades, *Reign of Mary Tudor*, 260.

17 Thomas S. Freeman, "Burning Zeal: Mary Tudor and the Marian Persecution", in *Old and New Perspectives*, 171–205, at 204; Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, eds., "Appendix: The Marian Martyrs", in *Old and New Perspectives*, 225–271, at 250–260. Andrew Pettegree's powerful scholarship arguing that the persecution of heretics under Mary was "decidedly old fashioned as well as brutal", "clumsy and ill-thought-out", and consequently could never have succeeded still dominates historiography on Mary's reign, though Eamon Duffy has recently offered a persuasive counter-argument. Andrew Pettergree, *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (Aldershot: 1996), 162; Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: 2009), 79–170, esp. 81–84.

18 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: 2005), 555–564.

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Clerkenwell, a process completed in early 1558.[19] Despite his problems with the papacy, Pole continued to act as papal legate and archbishop, refusing to be recalled to Rome. He also remained enthusiastic about future projects including the potential restoration of one of the former Benedictine foundations at Canterbury and the reinstitution of monks at Glastonbury and St. Alban's abbeys. Claire Cross has also demonstrated that in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Pole could "realistically presume" that outward signs of heresy had been extirpated by 1557, while Dr John Caius successfully refounded Gonville Hall (as Gonville and Caius College), and the recently established St. John's College, Oxford, began accepting its first students—its purpose being the "increase of the orthodox faith".[20] As John Edwards sums up, in the year 1557 the Catholic restoration "continued unabated".[21]

So far the sense of optimism that these individual arguments encourage has yet to pervade the general historical narrative for 1557. More importantly, it has yet to prompt a reconsideration of the domestic atmosphere upon the return of the king, or of the condition of the queen who received him. Thus, when Mameranus arrived in London with Philip in March and gave a published testament to the glorious restoration of Catholicism, a queen of "rare prudence" who, "having been placed in the heart of our Lord's church", still had the potential to effectively "lead [the kingdom] back to its old splendour", and who might still "beget a blessed child by the King", his words might seem initially surprising. They might even appear mocking to those who would conclude that by this point "the momentum of the regime had run down and the future looked ominous and uncertain", and even misinformed to those who would still agree with M.J. Rodrígues-Salgado's depiction of a "bitter" queen filled with "disenchantment" who, towards the end of the reign, acknowledged that her "personal, political and religious failure was complete".[22] However, if we are to propose that by petitioning his patron, Count Günther, for an invitation to the English court as early as 1554, beseeching Mary to accept him as one of her subjects when he eventually arrived, printing three books in London with Thomas

19 Edwards, *Mary I*, 247–249; C.S. Knighton, "Westminster Abbey Restored", in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: 2006), 77–123; *CRP*, iii, 417.

20 Claire Cross, "The English Universities, 1553–58", in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: 2006), 57–76, at 72; James McConica, "The Rise of the Undergraduate College", in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. iii: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (Oxford: 1986), 1–68, at 46.

21 Edwards, *Archbishop Pole*, 212, also 190–191, 194–195.

22 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sigs. Aii-iii; Loades, *Reign of Mary Tudor*, 402; Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 202; López, "Great Faith", 124.

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Marshe, and presenting the queen and her husband with those, as well as four more and a handwritten petition on the condition of the country, as being evidence of a man who was doing more than simply pandering for patronage, then we must spend a little time thinking about what Mameranus might have witnessed when he arrived. And, we must ask whether or not it lived up to the state of affairs that he had imagined from Brussels almost three years earlier: a "miraculous and most noble kingdom of England" that had "through the female heir of royal power" been rescued from its iniquity, or to the auspicious vision he had published in his poetic celebration of their wedding a year later, in which he prospected "every good thing always and everywhere [to] flourish throughout the kingdom".[23]

To judge the spring of 1557, many of our historical narratives depend on the reports of François de Noailles, and the French ambassador in Scotland, Henri Cleutin (also known as seigneur D'Oysel [D'Oisel]), both of whom saw it as politically expedient to cast the visit in a negative light.[24] It is from the latter, for example, that we hear the often-quoted description of the second Spanish visit as a "warmed over honeymoon". This phrase, first translated by Harris Harbison, anonymized by Carolly Erickson, and repeated by Whitelock as the innocuous words of "one diplomat" for the title of her chapter for this period, has strongly influenced our current perception of the royal reunion.[25] At the time, however, D'Oysel was attempting to provoke an Anglo-Scottish war on behalf of the French dowager queen, Mary of Guise, who was then regent in Scotland, and so had every reason to instigate rumours and make derogatory remarks about Philip's arrival.[26] In fact, a very similar thing happened on the first visit in 1554 and the effect was noticed by the king's valet, Andrés Muñoz, who said that "the lies about him [Philip] spread by the French and other neigh-

23 "Vide Domine Comes, quomodo Deus miraculoso misericorditer cum illo nobilissimo regno Angliae egit, cum illud sectis & haeresibus pestilentibus perturbatum & inuolutum, per foeminam regni haeredem vindicauerit, eripuerit & repurgauerit: rursusque sub obedientiam sanctae catholicae Ro. Ecclesie redegerit", Letter 1, Mameranus, "Epistolae", 415–416; Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Eii.

24 These men heavily influenced earlier scholarship on the period. For example, E. Harris Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton: 1940), 322–323.

25 Harbison provides no clear citation for the passage, though references its author. See ibid., 323. Harbison is quoted without citation in Carolly Erickson, *Bloody Mary*, 2nd ed. (New York: 1998), 463. Whitelock cites only Erickson in *Mary Tudor*, 286.

26 He did this by leading Scottish troops to Eyemouth near Berwick and fortifying the position, which was in breach of the current peace treaty between the two nations. See Mary Ann Lyons, *Franco-Irish Relations, 1500–1600: Politics, Migration and Trade*, 2nd ed. (Rochester, N.Y.: 2015), 115; George MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets: The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers* (London: 1971), 280; Edwards, *Mary I*, 348.

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bouring countries were so great in order to damage our reputation and gain an advantage over us".[27] They ought not to gain an advantage over scholars as well, as they seem to have done so far.

What sources remain, then, for reassessing the domestic scene in early 1557? "Few", seems to be the answer, and none of the few we have are without problems. The letters and reports of Jose de Courteville, a secretary for the Council of State in the Netherlands who accompanied Philip, are desperately sparse; Annibale Litolfi, a Mantuan ambassador who also arrived with the king, was suffering from severe health problems and financial difficulties, which heavily influenced his perception of England. Yet both of these men were in London at this time, and alongside Mameranus they produced valuable impressions of the city and its queen that are often forgotten in favour of the lengthy reports of England made by Giovanni Michiel, and by his replacement as Venetian ambassador, Michiel Surian. These last two produced the most detailed depictions, though they were not always accurately informed and were prone to inconsistent characterizations. Take, for example, Giovanni Michiel's description of Mary as so disturbed by "passions" and "deep melancholy" that she tried remedying with "tears and weeping", while at the same time she was supposedly "so courageous and resolute that neither in adversity nor peril did she ever even display or commit any act of cowardice or pusillanimity".[28] Such writing will be treated in this chapter with due caution. Machyn's manuscript, by contrast, will be read as the eye-witness testimony of a citizen of London, rather than dismissed as the superficial reflections of an ardently Catholic diarist, as is still typically the practice when employing his writing as evidence.[29]

Loades claimed that Philip and Mary remained largely hidden from the public eye and that the visitors "were not welcome" when they arrived in 1557.[30]

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27 La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS v. Ii. 3, Fol. 487r, quoted in Alexander Samson, "A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 1 (2009): 65–94, at 86. Writing to Philip from Brussels on 21 Mary 1557, the Bishop of Arras, Antoine de Granville, expressed a similar opinion, stating that "it would be highly desirable that [the English] should throw out the French Ambassador and the other Frenchmen who are there, once and for all; for these Frenchmen's intrigues are pestilential and pernicious", *CSP Span*, XIII: 292.

28 *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1055–1056.

29 This more astute reading was first argued for and substantiated in Gary G. Gibbs, "Marking the Days: Henry Machyn's Manuscript and the Mid-Tudor Era", in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: 2006), 281–308.

30 Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 204–205. Kevin Sharpe similarly claimed that Mary's public appearances as Philip's wife "disclose unease, discontent and opposition below the surface of praise and harmony", discontent caused in part by hostility to foreigners. See *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 298.

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I disagree. Taking these sources and approaching the year *in medias res*, not with the loss of Calais and the end of the reign already in sight, I propose that Mary actually took every opportunity she could to display herself and her husband to her population and that aside from a few minor abrasions at court, there was considerable rejoicing at his arrival. Moreover, I argue that the presence of Philip and his entourage should be treated as a significant moment of cultural transaction between the two courts, and that the interactions between the visitors and their hosts should not be reduced to a single emotion.[31]

To argue this, I approach the arrival from two perspectives. In the initial section I consider state ceremony and argue that for a brief moment in 1557 the royal couple successfully reformed the image of the Anglo-Habsburg monarchy. War may have been on Philip's mind, but his presence in the country was an important opportunity to consolidate his status as King of England and for Mary to reaffirm her own role as sovereign in relation to her husband—to answer what Richards has described as the "ambiguities" in their representational strategies that remained from the early years.[32] The visit coincided with the most significant liturgical celebrations and festivities in the ritual year: Holy Week, Easter, St. George's Day, and Corpus Christi Day, among others. Mary used each as an opportunity to confirm publicly for her subjects her agency in the restoration of religion, her legitimate sovereignty as queen regnant, and Philip's chivalric and martial role as an English king and her legitimate but politically subordinate husband. She did all this while balancing her husband's warmongering and her council's stonewalling. And I propose that these state ceremonies indirectly informed Mameranus's decision to address his dedication of *Psalmi Davidis quinque* to the queen alone (as opposed to Philip as well), and to describe how she "far surpassed men" in her piety.[33]

In my second and third section, I turn the focus away from the persons of Philip and Mary and look at those who surrounded them. So far, the animosity between the English and the Spanish courtiers that is so widely reported

31 The complexity and multifaceted nature of Anglo-Spanish relationships has been argued for brilliantly by Samson, "Fine Romance", 66, *passim*.

32 Richards, "'Sole Quene'?", 924.

33 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aiii. This approach builds on the work of Richards, Duncan, and Samson who have each demonstrated the symbolic importance and visual impact of public ceremony during this period, and who have successfully revealed that specific representational strategies used by the royal couple helped to define and legitimize their respective roles. Their studies, however, are primarily concerned with the early years of Mary's reign and the first Spanish visit. See Duncan, *Mary I*, *passim*, but the visit of 1557 receives a mere four paragraphs on pp. 168–170; Samson, "Changing Places"; Richards, "'Sole Quene'?"

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on for the first visit is typically assumed to have reared its head again on the second. This has undoubtedly contributed to the sombre accounts that historians provide of the year 1557. Loades, for example, stated unequivocally that the visitors were unwelcome, and Warner recounts how notoriously unhappy the Spaniards were on their first visit to colour his later suggestion that in 1557 the king and his entourage were once more "causing commotions in the palace and in the streets".[34] Most accounts, however, choose to remain quiet on the issue of 1557, probably due to the lack of readily accessible sources.[35] Those that do give space to the final years of the reign depend heavily, often for the same reason, on the Protestant propaganda printed abroad (in which can be found only marginalized and dissenting voices that were openly hostile towards the foreigners).[36]

This chapter, too, struggles with the lack of available evidence, but within the writing of Litolfi, Courteville, and Mameranus it finds valuable information with which to reconsider the second visit in its own light rather than that reflected from 1554 and 1555. First it considers a lengthy economic petition that Mameranus presented to the royal couple and its implications for the future of Anglo-Habsburg relationships. Then, it explores how the visitors (not just the Spaniards but also the other nationalities that accompanied the king) interacted with their hosts, and then contextualizes the works that Mameranus printed in London with Thomas Marshe—*Beso Las Manos*, *Oratio Dominica*, and *Psalmi Davidis quinque*—to add a new voice to the current discourse on transcultural attitudes at the Marian court. The resulting exploration is not overwhelmingly positive; there is no forgetting that in 1554 tensions ran high at the Anglo-Habsburg court, particularly with the uneasy combination of Spanish and English households, and traces of hostility towards the visitors are again to be found in 1557. Yet this chapter takes into account that many of these new concerns were exacerbated by a general reluctance on the part of the English to go to war, and so it avoids conflating politically motivated hostility with what might be more genuine reports of cultural dissonance between the guests and their hosts. What it finds is a largely functional and diverse court that for the period of the visit participated happily in festivities and state ceremonies whilst operating as the hub of the Anglo-Habsburg cultural exchange.

34 Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 204; Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 74–77, 187.

35 López, "Great Faith", 115–138; Samson, "Fine Romance", 65–94. John Edwards has done excellent work on the first visit, but barely considers the second as a moment of cultural importance in *Mary I*, 159–199.

36 Alexander Samson, "The Marriage of Philip of Hapsburg and Mary Tudor and Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England: Political Economies and Culture, 1553–1557" (PhD Thesis, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1999), 196–199; Richards, "'Sole Quene'?", 920–921.

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1 The Return of the (Uncrowned) King

On 17 March 1557 Philip was received in Calais by its governor, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Admiral, William Howard, as well as by several other English lords. Towards noon on the following day he embarked upon an English ship that the Privy Council had instructed be kept "in arredines for his Majesties oune personne … thoroughly decked and apparailed with all convenient furniture", and he was subsequently delivered to the harbour at Dover that evening thanks to the calm weather.[37] Philip spent that night with his household in the town, and the next morning set out for Canterbury. As he made his way north through Kent with his entourage, Sir Thomas Kempe and Sir John Fogge greeted and furnished the king with fresh horses, and a succession of gentlemen whom Mary had posted at each leg of the journey rushed ahead to the court at Greenwich Palace and informed her of her husband's progress.[38]

This journey is rarely considered as a public spectacle but, just as he was in 1554, Philip was accompanied on horseback by the "chief personages of England" who had travelled with him from Calais, and "all the rest paid their respects to him" at each place through which he passed.[39] As he had done on that first journey, he again did his upmost to prevent any disturbances. Courteville writes:

> His Majesty will not have it that, for want of putting on a good face, things should not proceed well. Passing through Canterbury a young schoolboy came up to him asking him to pay a levy for entering the church with his spurs on, and His Majesty paid a good few gold coins, which made the people very happy, praising his great humanity; and throughout supper my host did not talk to me about anything else, saying that the same thing had happened to King Henry.[40]

37 *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 6 (London: HMSO, 1893), 64. The dates for these entries appear as 1556, rather than 1557, because the Old Style of dating was being used (in which the New Year begins on 25 March). Harry Kelsey cites similarly in his *Philip of Spain*, 128–129; Josse de Courteville, secretary in the Council of State in the Netherlands. No. 66. in *Relations Politiques*, 1:60–62; *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1003.

38 *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1003; *APC*, 6:69.

39 *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1003.

40 "Il ne tiendra à Sa Majesté, par faulte de monstrer bon visaige, que les choses ne succèdent en bien. Passant par Canturbye [Canterbury], ung jeune escollier le vint prendre et mectre à l'amende, pour ce qu'il estoit entré en l'église avecq ses espérons, et paya Sa Majesté quelque nombre de pièces d'or, dont les manans eurent grand contentement, blasonant

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The comparison to Henry VIII, whom Mameranus and other Continental observers recognised as the model of legitimate kingship in England, was no doubt the intended response to this carefully choreographed rehearsal of tradition.[41] It was deliberately reminiscent of the numerous offerings that Henry made at the high altar in Canterbury Cathedral and to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket there in the early part of his reign, and was designed to cast Philip in the image of a conventional English Catholic king.[42]

Having travelled from Sittingbourne on the previous day, the king arrived at Greenwich at 5 o'clock on 20 March, separating from the main train of his followers who continued into the capital. As he walked up from the riverside and under the palace gates, a ship that had sailed up the Thames marked his presence by firing a sixteen-canon salute twice. And amongst the general jubilations Machyn reports that there were cries of "God save the Kyng and the Que[e]n" to be heard. On the following day Philip and Mary proceeded to hear Mass together, and the Lord Cobham and Lord Admiral bore before them each a sword of state just as had been done at their marriage in 1554, and on the other processions they had made as a married couple during the king's first visit. It symbolised now, as it did then, that Mary retained individual sovereignty alongside that which she had granted Philip by virtue of their union.[43] Machyn further reports that three hoys (small, typically sloop-rigged coastal vessels) sailed up the Thames and into the capital carrying more Spaniards, and there the Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner, commanded all the churches to sing the *Te Deum* as all rang their bells continually "with grett presse [praise] to God".[44]

On 23 March the king and queen left Greenwich and took a boat across the river to the Tower of London to initiate their royal entry amidst the widespread celebrations of the London citizenry. Just as on the king's first entrance, Philip and Mary were met by the Lord Mayor. As part of the traditional civic ceremony of a royal entry, which included the pledging of the city's allegiance to the monarchs, he bore before them both the sceptre, a "token of loyalty and

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l'humanité grande; et mon hoste ne m'entretint tout le souper quasi d'autre chose, disant que le mesme estoit advenu au roi Henry", in *Relations Politiques*, 1:61.

41 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Biv.

42 G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: 2005), 232–233. Henry, of course, had Becket's shrine dismantled in 1538 and denounced Becket himself as a traitor. So this is an act of recuperation of Becket and a symbolic revision of Henry's later policies rather than an unproblematic evocation of him.

43 Duncan, *Mary I*, 85–86, 98.

44 Machyn, *Diary*, 129.

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homage", and a recognition that the citizens welcomed their arrival.[45] With the nobility of the realm they processed along Tower wharf, the king riding on horseback "with the Queen next to him, who travelled in a litter open at the top" for all to see.[46] Courteville writes that in his opinion the "spectators were not few and far between and did not fail to pay their respects … [and] the city was happy and received him [i.e. Philip] cheerfully".[47] To further ingratiate himself with the population, and perhaps also to liberate supporting voices for the war, Philip pardoned a number of the prisoners in the Tower who would later serve him in his military campaigns, demonstrating his royal prerogative to do so as a head of state.[48] He had done the same thing during his first visit, releasing "several lords and gentlemen" who had been confined there for their part in Wyatt's rebellion, including the Duke of Northumberland's son and brother. Now on his return he continued his policy of "leaving to the Queen and the ministers the execution of sentences of confiscation or capital punishment, in order that he may obtain [the performance of] the royal pardon and clemency".[49]

As they all continued, the aldermen and the sheriffs of the city and all the craftsmen of the companies dressed in their liveries greeted the royal procession, and there were wooden stands erected from every sort of timber for them, the "trumpettes blohyng with odur enstrementtes with grett joye and plesur, and grett shutyng of gones at the Towre, and the waytes plahyng on sant Peter's ledes [roof] in Chepe [Cheapside]".[50] If, as Sarah Duncan suggests, royal entries were intended as a "demonstration of the cohesive societal and emotional bonds that linked the people of England with their ruler",

45 Ibid., 129–130; Duncan, *Mary I*, 19.

46 "accosté de la royne, qui alloit en litière ouverte par le hault", no. 66. Courteville to Viglius, *Relations Politiques*, 1:61; *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1003. This arrangement was symbolic: traditionally for coronation processions kings travelled on horseback whilst their queen consorts rode through the streets sitting in a covered litter, though it is possible that to subvert that image Mary chose to remove the usual coverings. See Richards, "'Sole Quene'?", 897.

47 "Vous entendés bien qu'il n'y avoit faulte de spectateurs, ny de honoy. A mon jugement, la commune s'en contenta bien et le receut allègrement", no. 66. Josse de Courteville to President Viglius, *Relations Politiques*, 1:61.

48 Loades, *A Life*, 279.

49 *CSP Span*, XIII: 444; *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1066. In Philip's eyes at least, the symbolism behind this action was clear and effective. He would do the same in 1579 when he entered Portugal as king. See Parker, *Imprudent King*, 292–293. One could, however, read this as strengthening Mary's authority by placing her in the conventionally male role as the dispenser of justice, and Philip in the traditionally female, queenly role of intercessor for mercy.

50 Machyn, *Diary*, 129–130.

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then this was the first of many similar public displays in 1557 that Mary had planned in order publicly to link herself to Philip, and Philip to her people, doing everything that was reasonably within her power to display herself and her husband acting together in a regal capacity without actually crowning him (something that Philip may have had ambitions for but which she ultimately denied him).[51]

On 13 April the royal couple and the Duchesses of Lorraine and Parma, who had arrived in England on 24 March, removed to Greenwich Palace to pass Holy Week and Easter. The new guests were housed there at Mary's expense, and Courteville writes that the week was celebrated "with the customary solemnities, such as washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday, blessing cramp-rings on Good Friday, and other things I omit for being ordinary".[52] This account is tantalisingly bare; it is the only record that explicitly states that these ceremonies were performed whilst Philip was in England on either his first or second visit, and so far the extent to which he was involved in them has not been considered by historians.[53] In 1556, when Philip was absent, the Venetian ambassador Marco Antonio Feitta reported that Mary performed the Thursday ceremony in a large hall in Greenwich Palace in front of "a great number of the chief dames and noble ladies of the court", and for each of the forty-one poor women to whom she crawled on her knees, "she kissed the foot so fervently that it seemed as if she were embracing something very precious", liberally distributing alms to them afterwards. On Good Friday, in the church of the Franciscan friars adjoining the palace, she descended from her oratory and performed the Adoration of the Cross, crawling towards it alongside Cardinal Pole, "praying before it thrice" on her approach, and kissing it "with such devotion as greatly to edify all those who were present". She then blessed two large basins of gold and silver rings "reciting a certain prayer and psalms, and then taking them into her two hands, she passed them again and again from one hand to the other".

51 Duncan, *Mary I*, 20.

52 "avecq les solemnités accoustumées, comme de laver les pieds aux pauvres le blancq jeudy, bénir des anneaux manipelins le vendredy sainct, et aultres choses que j'obmets pour estre ordinaires" *Relations Politiques*, 1:66–67. Philip had brought these two stateswomen to convince Elizabeth to marry the Duke of Savoy, an action neither Mary nor her half-sister would permit.

53 A request for cramp-rings and the subsequent receipt of them by John Masone on 26 April and 11 May 1555 suggest that at the very least this part of the ceremony took place, and there is no reason to believe that the accompanying solemnities were not performed. *CSPFM*, 164, 167. Loades has also found a record of the gold that was delivered to Raynes, the queen's goldsmith, to be made into cramp rings for the year 1557 in MS British Library RP 294. See his *A Life*, 369.

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Mary then removed to a gallery and before twenty noble persons performed the royal touch for "the king's evil" (scrofula, a swelling of lymph nodes thought to be associated with tuberculosis), which the anointed hand of a monarch was supposed to be able to cure.[54]

Duncan has shown that Mary revived these rituals for their Catholic associations and because her father and grandfather had used them particularly effectively to enhance their claims to the crown of England. By adapting what were traditionally masculine rituals of kingship for herself, Mary advertised and simultaneously legitimized her own status as a divinely appointed, sacred monarch.[55] Philip may well have wanted to participate in the ceremonies on the Maundy Thursday and Good Friday of 1557. He was, after all, notoriously stringent when following the custom of the House of Habsburg for the Mandatum according to John 13:4–15, which was to wash the feet of thirteen old men and serve them at his own table, and then on the following day perform the Adoration of the Cross.[56] Doing so in England, Philip would have been able to demonstrate his charity and humility in imitation of Christ and in turn enhance his own exalted status as a king before the English observers. But the records of gifts given for that year suggest that Mary reserved at least the performing of the Mandatum for herself.[57] In addition, while it is not impossible that Mary allowed Philip to apply the royal touch for either scrofula or the rings, to do so would have been a remarkable demonstration of her willingness to share her sacral role. Because these actions depended on the ruler's anointment with holy oil, an act that happened only at coronation, and because Philip himself never throughout the rest of his reign showed a belief in the curative capacity of the royal touch, we can assume that he also did not take part in this aspect of the ceremony.[58] This would have been a strik-

54 *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 6, 1555–1558*, vol. VI (i) (London: 1877), 434–436.

55 Duncan, *Mary I*, 118–126.

56 Rosemarie Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts* (Portland: 2004), 56; Werner Stark, *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom*, vol. 3 (London: 1967), 162.

57 The gifts were given to various "pore women" as opposed to poor men as well, which would be expected had Philip participated. Public Records Office, Lord Chamberlain's Office, Miscellanea, MS 5/31, fols. 48–49.

58 That Mary reserved the right for herself is further suggested in a letter that Pole sent to Cardinal Giovanni Angelo de' Medici on 25 May 1557 in which he stated that he will have his agent send the cardinal some of the cramp rings blessed "by Mary". It seems odd he would not mention Philip had the king taken a part in the blessing. However, we cannot preclude entirely the possibility that Philip performed the royal touch. We find the liturgy for this occasion, quoted by Duncan, in *Certain prayers to be used by the quenes heignes in the consecration of the crampe rynges, 1553–58*, a beautifully illuminated

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ing admission of his regal inferiority to Mary whilst he was in England, and would have demonstrated beyond doubt her prerogative as the anointed head of state. When the royal couple returned from Greenwich Palace and to the city on 22 April they made another procession, this time with the queen travelling by boat and Philip accompanying her on land, "with such a concourse of people along the river Thames as if their Majesties had made their first entrance yesterday".[59]

These liturgical rituals during Holy Week may have given Mary precedence, but on 23 April Philip was able to take advantage of his most symbolically potent role. As throughout the country's principal cities the guilds of St. George brought out their pageant dragons for parade, the king, in his full garter robes, led the annual procession of the Order of the Garter through the grand hall at Whitehall and around the courtyard in view of the commonalty.[60] The Bishop

manuscript owned by Mary and probably used between 1555 and 1558 in the royal ceremony. Whilst it contains two illustrations of Mary performing the cramp ring ceremony and providing the royal touch to cure the king's evil, attributed to the female artist Levina Teerline (1510/20–1576), which would suggest that the prerogative was the queen's alone, it is important to note that the manuscript was made after Philip had married Mary. On the first leaf is a heraldic illumination depicting Philip's royal coat of arms impaling those of Mary, surrounded by the garter and crowned at the top. It is rarely mentioned that the liturgy for the second ceremony, that of the royal touch for scrofula, is actually addressed for use by the king and not the queen. It begins, "First the King knelyng upon his Knees shall begin and saie, *In nomine Patris et filii et spiritus Sancti, Amen*. The Chaplen kneeling before the King", etc. This could be a clumsy mistake on the part of the inscriber, though it is repeated consistently and for such a careful and ornate presentation copy this seems unlikely, and it has led at least two historians, William Jones and George Frederick Kunz (perhaps with a little too large an interpretive leap), to suggest that Philip also blessed the cramp rings. Mayer, *CRP*, iii, 437; Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Suffolk: 2015), 41; "Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute: May 6, 1864", *The Archaeological Journal* 21 (1864): 181–191, at 188; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, vol. 1 (London: 1849), 292–294; William Jones F.S.A., *Crowns and Coronations: A History of Regalia*, 2nd ed. (London: 1902), 474–475; George Frederick Kunz, *Rings for the Finger* (Philadelphia: 1917), 345.

59 "con tanto concorso de genti longo il fiume Tamisa come se loro Maestà havessero fatta pur hieri la prima loro entrata", Annibale Litolfi, "Annibale Litolfi to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, 22 April 1557", b. 571 no. 54, Archivo di Stato Mantua, Archivo Gonzaga. A selection Litolfi's letters are reproduced in D.S. Chambers, "A Mantuan in London in 1557: Further Research on Annibale Litolfi", in *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp*, eds. Edward Chaney and Peter Mack (Woodbridge: 1990), 101–107, see 104 for this passage.

60 Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford and New York: 1996), 216.

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of Winchester performed a Mass "with [h]ys myter" and there proceeded several knights of the garter including Viscount Montague, Sir Anthony Browne; the Lord Admiral; Sir Anthony St. Leger; the Lords Cobham and Darcy; Sir Thomas Cheney; William Paget the Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Arundel; the Lord Treasurer, William Paulet; and the principal secretary of the Privy Council, William Petre (who as chancellor of the order was attired "in a robe of cremesun velvett with the garter brodered on ys shudder"). Philip then entered preceded by heralds, Lord Talbot who bore the sword of state, and a cohort of sergeants of arms, whilst Mary looked out of a window beside the court on the garden side to remind onlookers that, as sovereign, she oversaw the procession. Philip then appointed three new knights of the garter: the Earl of Sussex; the queen's comptroller, Lord Rochester; and Lord Grey, the governor of Guisnes.[61] That evening he once again had the sword of state borne before him, this time by Lord Strange, as he and the other garter knights proceeded to evensong.[62]

This day of ceremony, a little more than "a public appearance of a sort", was duly noted by Michael Surian; the Venetian antmbassador in France, Giacomo Soranzo; Josse de Courteville; and Annibale Litolfi.[63] It played a key part in advertising and glorifying Philip's return to the country, and confirmed the resumption of his martial role in England as head of its most prestigious chivalric order. The order's ties to St. George, by now securely ahead of St. Edward the Confessor as the country's nominal patron saint, reflected the national identity of the title, symbolically ratifying Philip's position as an English king after the fashion of Mary's royal ancestors. It was a role he took great pride in.[64] Although this time there were no jousts and tournaments after the ceremony as there had been in 1555, this was probably because in 1557 Philip intended (and would succeed) in realising his martial leadership of the country. Within months he would lead many of these garter knights into active service in the war against France, an opportunity they "eagerly plucked".[65] Duncan suggests that this action was a "failed attempt to become more than a symbolic mil-

61 Machyn, *Diary*, 134.

62 John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of It, and the Emergencies of the Church of England, under King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Mary I.*, vol. 3.2 (Oxford: 1822), 4.

63 Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 205; *Relations Politiques*, 1:67; *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1023–1024; "dì di San Giorgio, si come è Dio tutelare di questa città, così è giorno solenne dell'Ordine della Garatiera", "Litolfi to Gonzaga, 22 April", see Chambers, "Mantuan in London", 104.

64 Duncan, *Mary I*, 109; Edwards, *Mary I*, 193–194; Samantha Riches, "'Seynt George, on Whom Alle Englond Hath Byleve,'" *History Today* 50, no. 10 (2000): 47–51.

65 Davies, "England and the French War", 162.

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itary leader", though before Calais was lost in 1558 the victory at St. Quentin proves it to have been temporarily successful at least for propaganda purposes, and it helped Philip fulfil the advice given to him by the Duke of Savoy, which was that if he were to wage war it must be "not as the lord of the lands hereabout [in Flanders], but as King of England".[66] Machyn records the citywide celebration for the actions of "the Kyng our master", the people "thankyng be to God Almyghty that gyffes the vyctore", and the chronicler Charles Wriothesley remarked how "the towne was wonne by the King with the helpe of Englishmen".[67]

On the day after St. Mark's Day, which fell on 25 April and was celebrated with a great masque at court, Mary held what Courteville describes as a "magnificent banquet" in honour of the Duchesses of Lorraine and Parma.[68] Litolfi was unable to attend, but he heard that it was "superb". While at court he had seen the preparations being made and described "the ornamental decoration, which could have been more beautiful than it was", however he was impressed by the "many gold and silver vases, very beautiful and very large, and one among those the value of which is estimated at many thousands Scudi, for jewellery".[69] Courteville provides more information, perhaps because he had secured an invitation, and describes the queen as

> attired in cloth of gold. The King and she were seated in the middle, under the baldachin, in this way: the King on the left, the Queen on the right, the Duchess of Lorraine on the right of the Queen, and that of Parma on the left of the King, with her young son the Prince of Parma [Alessandro Farnese], who was also sitting below his mother, cap on head.[70]

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66 Duncan, *Mary I*, 108, see generally 99–108; *Relations Politiques*, 1:102. See A.C. Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Farnham: 2009), 46. The early military efforts were successful in other important areas as well, such as securing the English Channel and garrisoning the Scottish border. Robert Tittler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 2nd ed. (London: 1991), 63.

67 Machyn, *Diary*, 147; Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton, vol. 2 (London: 1877), 139.

68 "bancquet bien magnificque", no. 72. Courteville to Viglius, 28 April, *Relations Politiques*, 1:67.

69 "Il banchetto di Sua Maestà fu superbo … Io non vidi né il banchetto né la festa, ma solamente l'apparato, il quale haverìa potuto essere più bello di quello che era. Ci erano molti vasi d'oro et d'argento bellissimi et grandissimi, et uno fra gli altri stimati per molte migliaia de scudi per gioie", Annibale Litolfi, "Annibale Litolfi to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, 26 April 1557", b. 571 no. 55, Archivo di Stato Mantua, Archivo Gonzaga, see Chambers, "Mantuan in London", 105.

70 "La royne donit dimanche au soir un bancquet bien magnificque, où elle fut accoustrée

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Once again the message was clear, Philip was placed on the side that was considered inferior and typically reserved for a bride or queen. Mary was repeating the representational strategies she employed at her wedding and the subsequent wedding feast, which were intended to reassure her subjects that she retained precedence, although with both sitting under the canopy of state, Philip's own position as royalty was also confirmed for all those present.[71]

On Ascension Day, 27 May, the king and queen rode into Westminster with "all the lords and knyghtes and gentyllmen" and processed around the cloister before hearing Mass,[72] and on Corpus Christi Day, 17 June, there was another public procession through the great hall of Whitehall and through the court gates, "attended with as goodly singing as ever was heard". Although Machyn leaves out further detail, it must have followed the traditions of the preceding Marian celebrations for this holiday, and would have been accompanied throughout the country with "goodly pr[oss]essyons in mony parryches", with "long torchys garnyshyd [in the] old fassyouns".[73] In 1555 Philip's Chapel Royal and his Household held a procession of the Blessed Sacrament at Kingston upon Thames, a revival of Catholic sacramental piety "with all solemnity, having placed altars in the street, and preaching against what the heretics had done".[74] The following year the procession was given more public exposure and moved to the symbolically significant and more dangerously crowded setting of Whitehall in London where it was received by "many English people kneeling on their knees, weeping, and giving thanks to God because they were seeing such a good thing, and calling down the blessings on those who had been the

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en drap d' or. Le roy et elle furent assis au mitant, dessoubs le dosseret, à sçavoir: le roy au costel gauche, et la royne au droict; la ducesse de Lorraine au costel droit de la royne, et celle de Parme au costel gauche du roy, avec son petit fils le prince de Parme, qui estoit aussi assis en bas de madame sa mère, bonnet en teste", no. 72. Courteville to Viglius, 28 April, *Relations Politiques*, 1:67.

71 Samson, "Changing Places", 761–763; Sheila Himsworth, "The Marriage of Philip II of Spain with Mary Tudor", *Proceedings of the Basingstoke Field Club* 22 (1962): 82–100, at 87. Litolfi's depiction of Philip's placement on the left is a particularly important piece of evidence in light of the recent claim that following the wedding this never happened again. Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 161.

72 Machyn, *Diary*, 137.

73 Ibid., 63, 139.

74 José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el Cardenal Pole: Un Navarro en la Restauración Católica de Inglaterra (1554–1558)* (Pamplona: 1977), 55, quoted in John Edwards, "Corpus Christi at Kingston upon Thames: Bartolomé Carranza and the Eucharist in Marian England", in *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza*, eds. John Edwards and Ronald Truman (Aldershot: 2005), 139–152, at 139.

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cause of it".[75] In 1557, for the first time ever, both Philip and Mary were present and took part in the ceremony, in all likelihood carrying large white candles as the restored tradition demanded and accompanied by their courtiers to the sound of music and singing. Mameranus underscored the importance of this type of public devotion in May when he presented to the royal couple a poem on the duty of princes, in which he wrote that "if the humble king reverently adores God in the presence of the whole population … every common person would soon strive to follow his example".[76] Litolfi was less sure of the population's fervour, describing them as "little devoted to our religion because they still feel the license and freedom which King Edward left them at his death", although he agreed that "nevertheless the Queen commits herself in this [religion] very much, and during this year's Easter there was generally, in the opinion of everybody, much greater devotion than usual, in [practicing] confession as much as in [holy] communion".[77]

There were more ceremonies during the spring of 1557, some of which I shall discuss below.[78] From these examples, however, it is clear that Philip's visit was punctuated with powerfully symbolic public displays and accompanied with widespread celebrations throughout the city. Instead of a "warmed over honeymoon", it was an important chance for the country and its rulers to celebrate the reunion of the Anglo-Habsburg monarchy and the progression of the religious Counter-Reformation. Together, Philip and Mary made full use of ceremonial displays available at the summit of the religious calendar not only to legitim-

75 Tellechea Idígoras, *Carranza y el Cardenal Pole*, 67, quoted in Edwards, "Corpus Christi", 142.

76 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Ci(v).

77 "Gli animi di questi Inglesi sono, come ho scritto, poco devoti di nostra relìgione, perché sentono ancora di quella licenza et libertà che lasciò loro alla morte sua Il Re Eduardo; nondimeno, la Reina vi si affatica assai, et a questa Pasqua s'è veduto in universale assai maggior devotione del solito a gìudìtìo de tutti, così in confessarsi come nel comunicarsi", "Litolfi to Gonzaga, 22 April", see Chambers, "Mantuan in London", 104.

78 Machyn's accounts are littered with them. Another particularly interesting ceremony, just three days before the king's departure, was held in the Royal Chapel at Whitehall. There, Mary and Philip, and all the "principal persons of the court" participated in the baptism of the only son of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, with Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England presiding. Philip bestowed his name upon the infant and acted as joint sponsor with the Earl of Arundel, and this gesture was particularly important for further establishing personal loyalties between the king and key members of the nobility. See the Duke of Norfolk, E.M., *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, His Wife. Edited from the Original MSS.* (London: 1857), 5; Mark Aloysius Tierney, *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel*, vol. 2 (London: 1834), 357.

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ate their royal union, but also to create and reaffirm numerous and meaningful ritual associations with their English subjects.[79]

Duncan concludes that during the early years of the reign the messages conveyed by royal propaganda were mixed, sometimes giving precedence to Mary, at other times to Philip, and often underlining their equality. She continues that it is "unclear" whether or not these ambiguities might eventually have been refined had Philip stayed in England longer.[80] His return allows us to suggest that perhaps they did not need refining in the eyes of the royal couple. Mary kept the ceremonial arrangements largely the same, answering all the same questions about Philip's authority in England with the answers she had decided upon in 1554 and 1555. She presented her husband to her population as an English king, but nevertheless a king with a carefully delineated role, primarily martial, that was ultimately subordinate to her own. If we take this into account, it is entirely appropriate that when Mameranus arrived he proclaimed Mary to be a "woman unmovable and most strong of will", a woman for whom "that tremendous Majesty of the eternal God … has reserved royal power".[81]

When he came before the royal couple on 16 and 22 May and presented them with his literary gift, he chose to address his printed dedication and the political advice in *Psalmi Davidis quinque* to Mary alone (advice that shall be explored fully in the following chapter). He recognized that in her kingdom it was she who reigned supreme—"you who rules the sceptre and helm of England"—and thus it was to her alone that he recommended himself. In contrast to contemporary Protestant propaganda, which claimed that Mary had allowed Philip "to rule England at his pleasure", Mameranus presents a defiant image of the queen's awe-inspiring command, how before her face "a whole crooked cohort" of "enemies and rebels" had "trembled, struck down with fear, and quaking with fear lie prostrate at your feet, having confessed their wicked crimes".[82] Even Noailles acknowledged her mettle: she would "try to force not only men, but the elements themselves to consent to her will"—though no doubt to him this was a fault.[83]

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79 For a good insight into the power of ceremonial display, see Fiona Kisby, "'When the King Goeth a Procession': Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485–1547", *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 1 (2001): 44–75.

80 Duncan, *Mary I*, 98.

81 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, Aiii.

82 Robert Pownall, *An Admonition to the Towne of Callays* (Wesel[?], 1557), sig. Avi(v); Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, Aiii.

83 François de Noailles to Henry II and to Montmorency, 27 Feb. 1557. Correspondance poli-

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While Philip may have come over primarily to secure England's aid in his war, he was not foolish enough to avoid capitalizing on the ceremonial opportunities available to him. It seems he did so happily, too. And why not? He knew they would further his own cause, reaffirming the chivalric bond between himself and the knights he wished to lead into war. For Philip, Mameranus personally inscribed a copy of his *Gratulatorium* "bound in scarlet velvet or *Carmesinio*". It was no coincidence that this was the text he chose for him in 1557 because it reminded the king of what Mameranus had advertised his promised role to be in 1555: "a protector, a faithful conserver and the pious champion and defender" of the realm.[84] It also included an old reprint of *Domino Philippo*, which glorified his military role on the European stage. As emperor, he wrote, "you are solely fierce [against] Turkish battles—arms abroad, nourishing peace at home, and unison always".[85] Londoners could read something of Philip's military exploits too, since at the end of *Oratio Dominica* Mameranus printed a celebration of his navy and their recent journey to provision the Imperial soldiers, perhaps hoping to encourage English participation in the war:

> O nourishing Lord! We all give great thanks to you because you mercifully heard our wishes and prayers: Not just a single ship in exchange for our miserable prayers, but two, with winds hardly ever having blown against them, and both almost simultaneously at one and the same time: one of the two from Spanish lands with wealth and soldiers. And the other ship from eastern countries, having been burdened with the fruits of Eurus: so that heaven, and the winds, and the earth, and the sea, and the air, all things simultaneously looked to favour us everywhere, our arms, our men, and our Ceres sent from the various countries, so that they stimulate our

tique, Angleterre, Vols. XIII, fols. 166–168. Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris, France, quoted in Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors*, 319.

84 "in holoserico coccineo, seu Carmesinio ligatum", Mameranus, "Petition 2, List of Books". The presentation copy with its inscription is lost, but we might take an educated guess that the handwritten message affirmed the immediate applicability of his initial poem, for in the poem he asks Philip, no doubt now in reference to the French, to "take pity on your country [Belgium] which has been afflicted for a long time already, throughout all the years, on all sides by the furious, devastating upheaval of horrendous war, which the savage enemy, damned and awful, who constantly clings to our borders, always kicks up", Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Aii. For his role in England, memorialized in a fictional speech that Philip gave to the people of England, see sig. Dii(v).

85 "Sentiet ac solus truculentus praelia Turca / Arma foris, pax alma domi, et concordia semper", Mameranus, *Domino Philippo*; reprinted in *Gratulatorium*, sig. Fii(v).

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> hearts for great battles against the raging destroyer and disturber of communal peace, good, and of all things prosperous everywhere. With whom soon having been destroyed, may common peace return to the world, and we will pass our times in a tranquil life.[86]

By presenting Philip his 1555 celebration of the wedding, Mameranus reminded his king that all of the initial hopes about the marriage were still intact, even at this politically tense moment, and that his role in England remained the same as it was in 1554. Within the favourable auspices sung in the epithalamium, Mameranus encouraged Philip once more that he and Mary "might soon both be made parents with pretty offspring", that he was amidst a "beautiful paradise", and that together with his wife "in stable wedlock" the couple might "govern to the advantages of the kingdom", "exterminate seditious renovators", "drive away enemies from the country", and ensure that "the Church and the united [body] of Christ flourish always".[87] But the poem also clearly reaffirmed Mary's regal potency:

> The divine God of heaven thought her alone worthy of leading all these people and of ruling well and that she might carry the crown of her father's throne: by her very presence the famous statutes of the entire kingdom reflourished, and laws and faith returned, as did happy days, and the tranquil times smiled back in sweet peace: sacred and profane things grew strong, all in their own holy order and in Commonwealth [*Respublica*]. Through her the kingdom thus wanted to be restored to its old and beneficial manners and its old state, darkness having been banished …[88]

Where Giovanni Michiel portrayed Mary in 1557 as a "feeble light buffeted by raging winds", kept going only by her "innocence and lively faith", Mameranus took solace in the fact that Mary had God on her side in all things, and that even in her darkest hour she had been a "phoenix amidst vast deserts".[89] As he wrote in his new verses for the royal couple and their London audience, now, with Philip at her side, the queen "may lead [the kingdom] back to its old splendour after, in the full progress of time, that wicked crop has been cut back and that insane and impious error curtailed, supported and propped up by divine

86 Mameranus, *Oratio Dominica*, sig. Bi(v).
87 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sigs. Ei(v), Ciii(v), Div(v), Eii.
88 Ibid., sig. Ci.
89 *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1055; Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Bii(v).

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favour".[90] For the Imperial courtier, the success and vitality of Philip and Mary's monarchy was still in full swing, and as I shall demonstrate below, he was doing his best to aid it with his literary talent.

2 New Money for a New Empire: A Proposition to the King and Queen

It was this sense of optimism about the visit of 1557, and a vision for the future of a closely integrated political union between his hosts and the Habsburg Netherlands that prompted the boldest of Mameranus's actions in England: his presentation of two identical, unsigned autograph petitions to the king and queen on 22 May.[91] Enclosed within each copy were six small coins from Flanders, now lost. While it has been necessary so far to pluck selectively several extracts from the petition to inform the arguments of other chapters, and to discuss the act of the presentation itself at various points, the contents deserve attention in their own right as a particularly rare economic and numismatic insight into the economy of Marian England, given from a transnational perspective.

Two of the three issues that Mameranus initially outlines for discussion in the petition, small denomination coinage as it affected provision for the poor and everyday commerce, and the institution of a stable and equitable currency for use between England and Flanders,[92] have received no more than a cursory mention (if any at all) from the historians who have previously engaged with the document.[93] And yet Mameranus was an expert on such matters, at least in his own eyes, having edited several treatises on economics and even written his own tract about ancient money, collated for a large publication with

90 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aiii.

91 Knighton's Calendar of State Papers records the letter, which is currently housed in the National Archives at Kew, and provides a much needed expansion of the summary in Lemon's 1856 calendar, though it is, at best, a paraphrase of the key components and omits many details and much of the writing's character. Knighton, *CSPDM*, 272–274; Lemon, *CSPD*, 113.

92 After initially proposing a tripartite structure to his petition, Mameranus conflates the two arguments on low level coinage and international trading of currency into a single thread, stating: "the second is explained, although briefly, but moreover sufficiently and plainly from the above". ("Postremo ad Tertium articulum: Nam secundi explicatio, etsi paucis, tamen satis dilucide ab initio supra posita est"). This analysis will retain the initial division for the purposes of clarity, returning to the question of why the author mixed them together below. Mameranus, "Petition 1", 37(v).

93 Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 92; Porter, *Mary Tudor*, 230; Schutte, *Book Dedications*, 114.

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his brother in Cologne and addressed to Philip in 1551.[94] His English petition is minutely detailed (garrulously so at times), and clearly what propositions he had for the English currency were as important to him as were the books he gave alongside them. Though at points he worded them somewhat rashly (as stern rectification for policies that had so far been "disregarded rather carelessly"), they reveal the assiduity with which he sought the prosperity of his host nation, and his own ambitions for healing what he witnessed to be the "greatest scarcity of things".[95]

During the 16th century England was subject to unprecedented inflation, with prices quadrupling within a fifty-year span. The increasing price of silver and gold caused coins made from them to be successively reduced in size, which for the lower denominations used in everyday transactions meant rendering many inconveniently small. The penny, for example, fell in weight by 29.4 per cent between 1526 and 1601, leaving it at just 7.74 gr by the end of Elizabeth I's reign—a third of what it had been in 1279—meaning that its fractions, the halfpenny and farthing quickly became obsolete due to their own corresponding reductions that put them below a size convenient for common use. In combination with the difficulty that the English mint experienced when producing small coinage, a venture with higher wastage and increased difficulty compared with large denominations, the farthing fell from circulation completely by Mary's reign, and the halfpenny became so tiny that it was produced only "in lamentably small quantities".[96] Noticing as much when he arrived in London, Mameranus wrote quickly to the royal couple:

> Now truly, because there are exactly no fractions of coinage of this kind whatsoever in this kingdom alone compared with all the kingdoms and dominions of the entire world, [there is] no descent of price. It simply cannot stand that unprofitable, unfair, and unequal valuations and purchases take place—not only of cheap matters and the lowest priced (not to mention, for the time being, other disadvantages), but also of whatever other necessities for daily use—without monetary fractions of this sort, such as below a quarter of a penny [i.e. a farthing], which is rarely able to be held and is to be found almost nowhere … But it is imperative that the penny, which itself is nowhere to be found, be set and limited at a half

94 Nicolaus Mameranus, "Priscae Monetae", in *De Re Pecuniaria Antiqua*, ed. Nicolaus Mameranus, by Leonhardus Porcius Vicentinus (Cologne: 1551), sigs. Sv(v)-Ui(v).

95 "incuriose satis … neglectum", "rerum penuria maxima", Mameranus, "Petition 1", fols. 34(v), 37(v).

96 C.E. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester: 1978), 201–204.

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> or, minimally, a quarter penny: it is both an unjust and most inconvenient matter, because often the item is worth far less and its price could be reduced to a minimum by means of such small coins, for example: a frail little woman who spins, is about to buy a whirl on a spindle of a distaff (which is bought with one from these copper denarii, here enclosed, 12 of which constitute one English penny, or even often two are bought with not more than one) is forced to pay a halfpenny, with a sixth or eighth part of which she could buy one. Indeed what could [the seller] offer or furnish that is smaller than a halfpenny since a farthing could not be received anywhere; or if it could be received, it would still be excessive nonetheless, especially when there are no other coins of smaller, lower divisions?[97]

The solution, he believed, was obvious. Coins must be introduced which were made "from either copper or lead, or from some kind of alloy".[98] Distancing himself from a direct reproach, he stated that in the past such counsel was typically listened to and almost self-evident:

> Had not all the Princes of all the Nations and the most prudent Magistrates of the people considered the use of this rather cheap and petty coinage most useful and necessary to the highest degree, they would have been found guilty certainly of obtuseness and rightly of some kind of pointless foresight.[99]

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97 "Iam vero cum huiusmodi monetarum minutiae in hoc solo regno prae omnibus totius mundi regnis ac ditionibus nullae prorsus omnino sint, fieri plane non potest, quin & incommodae & periniquae & inaequalissimae existant non tantum vilium infimique precii rerum estimationes & emptiones, (vt alia interim incommoda taceantur) verum etiam aliarum quarumlibet quotidiano vsui necessariarum, sine huiusmodi pecuniarum minutiis, dum infra penningi quadrantem, qui tamen rarissime & fere nusquam reperiri & haberi potest, nullus precii descensus … sed in dimidio, aut minimum, quadrante, qui & ipse nusquam est, haerere ac terminari oportet: res & iniqua & inconuenientissima, cum saepe res ipsa longe minus valeat, preciumque eius per huiusmodi [exempla] minutula reduci in minimum possit, vt exampli causa: Muliercula tenuis quae filat, emptura in coli fusam vertubrum, quod emitur vno ex istis cupreis denariolis, hic adiunctis: quorum 12. constituunt vnum penningam Anglicum: Aut saepe etiam duo emunter non pluris quam vno: cogitur dare dimidium penningum, cuius sexta aut octava parte comparare vnum poterat. Quid enim potest hic minus offerre aut praestare quam dimidium penningum cum quadrans nusquam haberi possit: aut si haberi posset, tamen adhuc nimium esset: & cum nulla sit alia moneta infra minutior?", Mameranus, "Petition 1", fol. 36(r-v).

98 "vel ex cupro, vel ex plumbo, mixtove metallo quopiam", ibid., 34(v).

99 "Cuius vilioris & minutioris monetae vsum, si non vtilissimum, summeque necessariam,

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If Mameranus's tone here betrays a touch of incredulity at the situation, it may well have been warranted. C.E. Challis records that England was just about the only European country without its own base metal currency during this period. Despite numerous petitions from Englishmen under Elizabeth I for the institution of small denomination money (such as the London mercer Christopher Bumpstead who argued with remarkable similarity to Mameranus that it was as necessary for the economy as "water is for the Thames"), it was not until after her death that copper coins were eventually instituted.[100]

For Mameranus, as for every economist during the mid-Tudor period, the issue of coinage was primarily a moral one, and he discussed it in terms of the *Respublica* (Commonwealth) and the damage that was being done to its lower orders:[101]

> In such a way the greatest injury of all happens to the poor here; these small moneys should on all accounts be instituted for the sake of, or even for the sole purpose of, abolishing this injury. For instance the commonalty of modest means here is unable to bestow any pecuniary alms upon the poor, because it holds no small coinage. Indeed, it does not lie within their means to pay out a halfpenny, and paupers are many. But if it did carry such small coins, no one is so poor as to be unable to pay one or two of such kind of deniers, and so many thousands of deniers would be paid to paupers daily even by the commonalty, when now hardly one and the other halfpenny are given. And those wealthy people here often feel squeamish about bestowing a halfpenny to each, and so it occurs that the wretched people are shaken strongly by hunger, exposure, and the greatest scarcity of things: anyone could console and gladden them with some such small coin and send them away happy.[102]

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omnes omnium Nationum Principes, prudentissimique Magistratus populorum existimassent, profecto stoliditatis & superuacaneae cuiusdam prouidentiae merito coargui possent", ibid.

100 PRO, SP 12/20, No. 56., quoted in Challis, *Tudor Coinage*, 205.

101 See the marginalia in Mameranus, "Petition 1", 34; David Landreth, "Crisis Before Economy: Dearth and Reformation in the Tudor Commonwealth, 1541–62", *Journal of Cultural Economy* 5, no. 2 (2010): 147–163, at 147–148.

102 "Sic pauperibus hic omnium maxima fit iniuria, ob quam vel solam tollendam, hae pecuniarum minutiae institui omnino deberent. Nam communis & tenuis populus elargiri pauperibus hic nullam potest eleemosynam pecuniariam, quod nullas habeat pecuniarum minutias. Non enim in facultate sua est, erogare dimidium penningum, & pauperes multi sunt. Quod si istas minutias habeat, nemo tam tenuis esset, quin posset vnum aut alterum

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Such concern for the poor is a common feature in the writing of Mameranus, but it should not be thought of as platitudinous. In presenting the issue of small coinage to Philip and Mary, he was drawing from first-hand experience in London where the harvest failures of 1555 and 1556 doubtless exacerbated the need for charity even despite the brief reprieve witnessed in the spring of 1557.[103]

His petition was also, however, a political gambit with international consequences. Small coinage would be "not only most useful among the people in all commercial endeavours, but even necessary, as without [such] coinage political conversation would not be able to stand firm on the ground of its impartiality and decency".[104] By this, he meant that it would reduce tensions between England and the Netherlands, for conflated within the issue of small coin—and apparently requiring no additional information other than a demonstration of the various low denomination coins that other nations possessed and their current value against the English penny—was a plan for

> the equivalent commerce, one and the same value and usage on either side of English and Brabantine or Flandrian money, both in silver and gold, so that both currencies circulate equally between both peoples, and receive common usage and the same value, and could be imported and exported freely from either side without any prohibition or examination, or cost or tax imposed.[105]

For the full scale of this proposition to be understood, it must be set against the backdrop of England's vital trade relationship with the Low Countries dur-

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talem denariolum erogare, ac sic multa quotidie vel a communi populo milia denariolorum in pauperes erogarentur, cum nunc vix vnus & alter dimidius penningus praestetur. Et ipsi diuites saepe hic nauseant, dimidium vnicuique elargiri penningum, ac ita fit, vt fortiter fame, nuditate, inaedia ac rerum penuria maxima concutiantur miseri: quos consolari & exhilarare vnusquisque tali aliquo nummulo minutulo posset & a se laetos dimittere", Mameranus, "Petition 1", 37(r-v).

103 Tittler, *Mary I*, 6.

104 "non solum vtilissimum in omnium rerum commerciis in populo esse: verum etiam adeo necessarium, vt sine ea, politica conversatio ex sua aequabilitate ac decentia constare bene non possit: summae hoc illis & prudentiae & prouisioni publicae adscribitur", Mameranus, "Petition 1", 35.

105 "aequiualens & communae monetae Anglicanae & Brabanticae seu Flandricae, tam argenteae, quam aureae commercium, valorque vnus & idem utrobique ac visitatio: vt inter vtrosque populos, utraque moneta ex aequo currat, communemque vsum & vnum atque eundem valorem accipiat: et importari atque exportari libere ab vnoquoquae sine vlla prohibitione aut examinatione, vel grauamine imposito, seu vectigali possit", ibid., 34.

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ing the 16th century, through which its textile industry sold its products to the rest of Europe. By the 1550s Antwerp was its locus. The city was experiencing a Golden Age that had been developing for more than a generation, its increasing population and economic development as a *pôle urbaine* where the international trade of Western Europe converged, merged, and flowed through, making it "the most important centre in West European commerce and one of the largest cities north of the Alps".[106] In this statement, speaking of international trade and taxation, Mameranus clearly meant his proposition to extend to larger denominations of coin, and by proposing the creation of an equality between English and Flemish coins not just in silver but gold as well, he was perhaps striving to ease the administration of a joint state of England and the Netherlands, which had been an important aspect of the marriage proposal in 1554, and which he still hoped for in 1557.[107] At the very least, this was a proposal designed to be of mutual benefit to these polities, which he expected in the future to be drawn further together under the stable alliance of their leaders, and it can be considered in line with wider efforts by Mary and her husband to improve coinage through the minting of good-quality coin for use domestically and in international commerce.[108]

The petition also had important social implications. In Antwerp and other parts of the Habsburg Netherlands all types of inferior alloy coins of foreign origin were bartered with and exchanged, bringing the low level currency into "indescribable confusion".[109] This was a particular problem for the English and Flemish traders and émigrés who moved between each city, of which there were an ever increasing number, and Mameranus here might be thought of as trying to strengthen the sinews of trust that bound relationships between foreigners and their hosts in both countries (something that he points out was suffering in the petition) through a common and stabilising coinage that each side could readily trust.[110] A more pressing concern in the immediate circumstances of the visit in 1557, however, were the English courtiers, and in the streets, a population that may well have been nervous about the arrival of another Habsburg

106 Jeroen Puttevils, *Merchants and Trading in the Sixteenth Century: The Golden Age of Antwerp* (London: 2015), 15.

107 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 81.

108 In June and August 1557, for example, the mint was commissioned to produce a large quantity of fine angels, half-angels, sixpences, groats, and pennies. Loades, *Reign of Mary Tudor*, 248–249, 352.

109 J.A. Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries, 800–1800* (London: 1977), 213.

110 There seems to have been widespread confusion and distrust of foreign coins in England during this period, something perhaps Mameranus was attempting to reduce. Challis, *Tudor Coinage*, 781–783.

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entourage. There had been violent outbreaks upon the first visit in 1554, and Mameranus might be forgiven if he believed there would be more again as the two courts once more came together.

3 Transcultural Attitudes at the Second Anglo-Habsburg Court

In 1554 Philip brought with him a 3000–5000 strong company, and aboard the ships that carried them were an additional 6000 soldiers. It was a wise move to prevent the latter from disembarking, for no doubt to the English population they looked like "10,000 Spaniards come to conquer the realm".[111] Even Mameranus, in his celebratory account of the wedding, had made a similar observation:

> because the clever King commanded it so, the army of Mars was hardly set ashore from the armed fleet so that it could not, having been sent to the mainland, end up wandering around as vagabonds by accident: or with an insolent hand might try to appropriate something from the country-crowd and to carry sneaked-off plunder into the fleet, according to its old ways, and to carry off forbidden spoils.[112]

Nonetheless, the thousands of civilian personnel who did disembark were enough to prompt an impressionable resident in the Tower of London to remark that "ther was so many Spanyerdes in London that a man shoulde have mett in the stretes for one Inglisheman above iiij. Spanyerdes, to the great discomfort of the Inglishe nation".[113]

Philip had not nearly so many followers on his return. The Venetian ambassador to the court in Brussels reported that in 1557 those in his service numbered around 1500 men, of which it was believed that the overwhelming majority were Spaniards, but the king's controller, Jean de Vandenesse, wrote in his journal of Philip's travels that when the king left Brussels he took a greatly reduced party: only his "great equerry, two gentlemen of his chamber …, his Controller and half the officers of his table", as well as his most elite statesmen. These were three principal members of his Council of State: the Count of Feria, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba; the skilled naval commander and financial administrator Don Bernardino de Mendoza; and the Marquis of

111 *CSP Span*, XIII: 23.
112 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Ei.
113 Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 81.

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Aguilar, Luis Fernández Manrique. In their wake followed a dazzling array of the most prominent figures in the Empire including the Prince of Sulmona, Charles de Lannoy; the Marquis of Sarriá, Fernando Ruiz de Castro; the Count of Chinchón, Pedro Fernández de Cabrera y Bobadilla; the Imperial secretary, Francisco de Eraso; the president of the Great Council at Mechelen and Keeper of the Seals, Adriaan van der Burch, as well as a select train of ambassadors, administrators, and minor statesmen. These were the command centre of his empire, but nonetheless it is improbable that such initial numbers were particularly high even including the three hoys (which were typically small vessels) containing Spaniards that Machyn says arrived later.[114] Certainly, they did not number in their thousands as they had in 1554.

On the Continent, Philip's Spanish entourage had been aggravating the Flemish, and Courteville reports that a number of people went to the court in Brussels to complain about their behaviour. Perhaps this was what prompted Philip to leave most of them, including several ambassadors, behind under the pretence of not causing "inconvenience and aggravated expense" before he departed for England.[115] Philip no doubt hoped that a reduced party, in theory at least, meant a reduced disruption to the local population, and perhaps that there was a greater chance that the English would fight alongside his Spaniards if the latter were not running amok in the capital.

Just as it had been in 1554, the visitors' initial impressions were of an idyllic country. Mameranus arrived after "crossing the thresholds into the kingdom with the English king" at Calais, possibly arriving with him at Greenwich Palace, though due to the shortage of lodging there he more probably formed part of the train that continued into London directly on 20 March, or in one of the three hoys that came the following day.[116] As he travelled up the river, perhaps he glimpsed the tall spire of the lavishly restored Observant Franciscan church

114 Federico Badoer, "Relazione delle persone, governo e stati di Carlo V e Di Filippo II", in *Le Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, vol. 1.3 (Firenze: 1853), 175–330, at 240; *CSP Span*, XIII: 447; "Adriaan van Der Burch", in *National Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 2 (Brussels: 1966), 108–110; *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1003.

115 "incommodare et aggravare di spesa", Annibale Litolfi, "Annibale Litolfi to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, Brussels, 2 March 1557", Copy from letter register of Litolfi, Aug. 1556-Nov. 1557, b. 2894 lib. 4 fol. 87r, Archivo di Stato Mantua, Archivo Gonzaga, see Chambers, "Mantuan in London", 82 (slightly altered rendition of Chambers' translation); *APC*, 6:69; *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1003.

116 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aii. He did not arrive, as Eric Bramhall erroneously reports, "as an envoy of Charles V in 1556", in Eric Bramhall, "Penitence and the English Reformation" (PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool, 2013), 169.

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and its religious houses set on the western side of the palace, or even visited its tranquil gardens and met the international community of friars who had arrived from Spain and the Netherlands in 1555.[117] Certainly, the charm of the London riverside captured his attention, as in the following months he paid homage to it in one of the three works he published with Thomas Marshe, combining pastoral imagery and moral instruction in a dedication to the young Jan van der Burch, son of Adriaan van der Burch, who died in London that spring:

> Therefore being mindful of your father's morals, my beloved John, accept the verses which I composed, when dawn emerged from a bed of roses, as I walked through meadows to the bank of the Thames, through the farmlands of a beautiful country, through shady groves everywhere.[118]

Bucolic enchantment was not unique to Mameranus. Litfoli also described how "it is good to come here", partly for the reputation of his master, the Duke of Mantua, but also simply for "the desire that I have of seeing the country". To him, England's landscapes were "beautiful and good", "a paradise", although later the expenses he ran up entertaining guests in the capital and his ill health would make him long for home.[119]

Some of the locals were no doubt hesitant about this fresh incursion of foreign courtiers into their city. Maybe they remembered the violence and vandalism of the first visit. Their guests may too have shared such memories, or if they had not been present then, perhaps as they travelled they read in Martin Nucio's edition of the *Cancionero general* (Antwerp, 1557) the "certain new sonnets, stanzas, and songs done in the city of London, England, in the year 1555" by several *caballero*-poets who were there. Where Mameranus romanticized London's great river, and in his *Gratulatorium* of 1555 had imagined the inhabitant's "immeasurable waves of joy" upon seeing their visitors, these Spanish poets had expressed their misery from experience—how "over the strange riverbank of the Thames we mourned". They disdained the barbarity of the Eng-

117 Keith Duncan Brown, "The Franciscan Observants in England, 1482–1559" (PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 1986), 226–229.

118 Mameranus, *Oratio Dominica*, sig. Aii(v).

119 "procurai bene di venirci … desidero che havena [sic] di veder il paese", "Annibale Litolfi to Filippo Tosabezzi, Castellan of Mantua, 16 June 1557", b. 571 no. 76, Archivo di Stato Mantua, Archivo Gonzaga cf. Chambers, "Mantuan in London", 83; *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 6, 1555–1558*, vol. VI (iii) (London: 1877), 1672.

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lish and scorned their "crazy" women.[120] Vestiges of this old discord threatened to return in 1557. The newly arrived Venetian ambassador in England, Michiel Surian, relayed rumours of a tense atmosphere, commenting in cypher to the Senate that "from what I hear, the Spaniards are so greatly hated, that neither his Majesty nor the Queen are well looked on by the multitude".[121] This was, he later surmised, because of the king's attempts to engage the country in the Habsburg-Valois conflict, which among other things meant the English feared that

> they will have to pay constant subsidies for the maintenance of the war, and what weighs more with them than anything else, is to see that all is being done for the benefit of aliens whom they detest, and most especially Spaniards. They also perceive that these last are thus given an opportunity for making themselves absolute masters of the kingdom, as they seem to be doing, for the Queen is bent on nothing else, by reason of the great love she bears her husband.[122]

It is a challenge to gauge how prevalent this anti-Spanish sentiment was, to what extent it targeted specifically Spaniards over other foreigners, and exactly how much of it was exacerbated by immediate political concerns. Protestant opponents of Marian rule certainly capitalised on the tense political atmosphere to further their own agenda, combining in their rhetoric the impending threat of warfare with the language of nationhood to create vitriolic scaremongering.[123] We must not overestimate the currency of their sentiments, however. When Thomas Stafford, grandson of Edward, the last Duke of Buckingham (and, therefore, a claimant to the throne in his own eyes) landed at Scarborough on 28 April, seizing a castle there and hoping to incite a rebellion against the "unrightful and unworthye Quene" who he claimed had surrendered the crown to "prowde, spytefull Spanyardes, whose Morysh maners and spytefull condytions no natyon in the worlde is able to suffer", he failed to rally any support

120 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Aiv; Nucio, *Cancionero General*, 397(r-v), 390, quoted in Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 84, 78. See also more generally his discussion at pp. 76–86.

121 *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1003.

122 Ibid., VI (ii): 1147; *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House: Volume 1, 1306–1571* (London: 1883), 141.

123 Pownall, *Admonition*, sigs. Ai(v), Avi(v); Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to Be Obeyd of Their Subiects* (Geneva: 1558), sig. Gii(v); *The Lame*[*n*]*tacion of England* (s.l.: 1558).

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for his cause and was quickly apprehended.[124] On the other hand, those nobles who supported Philip's warmongering, hoping perhaps for advancement in his service, had no problem with his potential interference in government, and the Earl of Westmorland, Henry Neville, is reported to have said that "as longe as God shall preserve my master and mystrys together, I am and shallbe a Spanyard to the uttermost of my powre".[125] Others, most notably Paget and several participants in the most recent Order of the Garter ceremony, such as Viscount Montague, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Admiral, were openly in favour of going to war alongside the Spanish,[126] and Surian reports that "the soldiers who are going to serve his Majesty increase in number daily, and [a] great part of the nobility of the kingdom are preparing, some from a longing for novelty … some from rivalry and desire of glory, some to obtain grace and favour with his Majesty and the Queen".[127]

There are no reports of violence between the visitors and their hosts this time, unlike on the first visit, and though Machyn describes a fight "at the cowrt-gate a-gaynst one Spaneard", it was one of his own countrymen who had "frust hym thrugh with ys rapier", and not an Englishman.[128] A royal proclamation in January of that year had described "diverse naughty and insolent persons", who to accomplish "their naughty purposes and quarrels have caused swords and rapiers to be made of a much greater length than heretofore hath been accustomed or is decent". It therefore declared that "henceforth no person or persons" was to "use or wear … nor sell, any sword or rapier above the length of a yard and a half-quarter in the blade at the most".[129] Erickson conjectures that the English "laughed at it and armed themselves to the teeth" to meet the Spaniards in March, but no evidence exists to substantiate this.[130] If, as is occasionally claimed, this was an attempt to limit violent outbreaks against the Spanish, then the fact that there appears to have been none suggests that it was

124 Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 3.2:516–517.

125 Joseph Bain, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland: Volume 1, 1547–63*, vol. 1 (London: 1898), 198.

126 Davies, "England and the French War", 162–163.

127 *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1085–1086.

128 Machyn, *Diary*, 134. Loades conjectures that the lack of physical altercations might have been because Philip brought fewer Spaniards with him, or because both sides were simply better disciplined. It is difficult to know which is the case, but I suspect that it was a combination these two things plus the simple fact that the visit only lasted a few months, with it being widely recognised that Philip was eager to join his troops in St. Quentin and so did not intend to remain in England for long. See his *Intrigue and Treason*, 206.

129 P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 2 (New Haven: 1969), 73.

130 Erickson, *Bloody Mary*, 463; Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors*, 323.

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successful (or unnecessary). When grievances at court arose they appear mild, even understandable considering the circumstances. Giovanni Michiel wrote on 13 May that, while the king himself was "universally beloved", and "even longed for" by his hosts, "the Spaniards who surround him … are feared, and consequently hated". The trouble they caused, and the disputes that emerged from "having his Court full of men of divers nations" whom the English refused "as their companions", was worsened because their hosts also refused to "submit (like other nations) to an official of Spanish birth entitled '*Alcalde de Corte*', who proceeds summarily against all persons, but according to the ways and terms of Spain, they having their own law, from which they will not depart".[131] This official, probably Francisco de Castilla, was responsible for public order (his title translates to "Magistrate of Court"), although clearly the English rejected his authority. These grievances never erupted into violence, however, and were perhaps an inevitable symptom of trying to disrupt domestic judicial practice.

The ambassador wrote that the English disliked the Spaniards because of the "dread they have of their altering the King's nature". But they apparently also had issues with all "Flemings, Burgundians, and Italians, besides the Spaniards".[132] Indeed, English hostility towards foreigners in general made an impression on other visitors as well. In his petition to Mary delivered on 22 May, Mameranus wrote that the English were in desperate need "of more kindness to foreigners", considering their behaviour ironic because it was from foreigners "whom nearly all [English] men derive their ancestry and receive their merchandise".[133] In his own report, Litolfi was quick to mention that the "English are naturally the enemies of all aliens, but they hate the French and Spaniards most of all".[134] But again this hostility seems more generally perceived than specifically targeted, and certainly did not extend to Philip himself.

For the most part, this general, low-level distaste was returned by the visitors, and was based largely on their hosts' proclivity for drinking, fighting, and frequenting taverns. Litolfi, whilst commenting on how intelligent women in England were, could not help but reveal his shock at how they were fought over:

> As regards women, the English do not hold honour in account, nor even in many other matters, for neither when the lie is given them nor for other

131 *CSP Ven*, VI (ii): 1066.

132 Ibid.

133 "humaniorisque erga exteros, á quibus feré omnes originem trahant & mercimonia accipiant", Mameranus, "Petition 1", 34(v).

134 *CSP Ven*, VI (iii): 1671.

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> abusive words will they be induced to fight, but rather from some caprice, and after exchanging two or three stabs with a knife in the German fashion, even when they wound each other, they make peace instantly, and go and drink together.[135]

Mameranus was similarly disturbed, and in his petition to the queen he recommended

> the proscription in this kingdom of the nuisance of drinking, which Satan introduced, for both sexes, in public taverns, so that whatever man or woman who drinks in the taverns, unless for the purpose of lunch or dinner, or not even that, or unless a pilgrim or traveller, should be forced to pay the same into Your Majesty's purse.[136]

He continued that "no other nation, or island exists in the whole Christian world, which (on account of this so destructive public insanity) fails more before God, and is more unrestrained, and more licentious, than this most unworthy thing which ought to be permitted and tolerated absolutely nowhere in a Christian state".[137] But in truth he had railed similarly at the French in 1552, charging their Church and its flock with being thoroughly infested: "you may see many drunkards, bullies, whoremongers, buffoons, flatterers, worthless persons, blasphemers, unclean, [and] impious … If there happens to be one there, who, in simplicity and humility, sets himself to live like a Christian in all chaste and holy conversation, he is immediately set down by all as a hypocrite".[138] But Mameranus decided to educate the Londoners, reminding them in a poem that he had composed especially for his journey to England that they ought to be above such iniquity:

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135 Ibid.

136 "prohibendarum in hoc regno pestiferarum illarum publicarum a Satana introductarum potationum utriusque sextus in tabernis publicis, ut quicumque et quaecumque in tabernis nisi causa prandii aut caenae, aut potius ne quidem prandii aut caenae, nisi peregrinus ac viator sit, potaverit, tantundem in fiscum Maiestatis Vestrae dependere cogater", Mameranus, "Petition 1", 38(r).

137 "Nulla enim vsquam in toto mundo Christiano, alia vel natio, vel insula exstat, quae ex hac tam perniciosa insania publica magis & solutius, licentiusque in deum delinquat, quam haec. Res prorsus indignissima quae [n]vsquam in politia Christiana permitti aut tolerari debeat", ibid., fol. 38(r-v).

138 Nicolaus Mameranus, "The Confession of the Church in France", in *England and Rome. A Discussion of the Principal Doctrines and Passages of History in Common Debate between the Members of the Two Communions*, by W.E. Scudamore (London: 1855), 29–30.

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> As the lion scorns inferior beasts and worthless kills, and does not think them appropriate to be fought with: thus may we always consider them inferior to us, and indeed unworthy, those things that stir our breasts—disgrace, vice, and shameful and unworthy pleasure, drunkenness, and the carousing of an Epicurean pig. Profit, avarice, ambition, lying, pride: these are demons that advance at night time, they are possessions and slaves of Satan, and of eternal darkness.[139]

Stern moral lessons like this, laced into eloquent Latin verses, were a favourite of Mameranus, but they may not have been appreciated by everyone. There were plenty of state sanctioned activities and events for both sets of courtiers to indulge in that would encourage precisely the type of behaviour he warned against. For example, Philip and Mary gave lavish and brutal entertainment on Easter Sunday, 18 April, when Courteville reports that they hosted a feast "with many dances, combats of dogs or bears, bulls, and monkeys on horseback".[140] Such entertainment apparently also impressed Litolfi, and he later made an approving note of the dogs at the bear garden in Southwark on the banks of the Thames in his lengthy report on the country.[141]

To celebrate St. Mark's Day on 25 April, Mary held a "Greate Maske of Allmaynes pylgryms and Irysshmen with theire incydentes" at the court at White-

139 "A New Year's Gift about a Lion and an Ass", in Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1557), sig. Bii.

140 No. 72. Courteville to Viglius, 28 April 1557, *Relations Politiques*, 1:66–67. A Venetian merchant describes the practice with more detail in 1562. "Every Sunday everyone takes great pleasure in the training of the dogs. They pay two pennies to stand and twice as much for a seat in the stands. They begin in the afternoon and enjoy good sport until the evening. Let me explain that first they take into the ring—which is fenced around, so that one cannot get out unless the gate is opened—a cheap horse with all his harness and trappings, and a monkey in the saddle. Then they attack the horse with five or six of the youngest dogs. Then they change the dogs for more experienced ones. In this sport it is wonderful to see the horses galloping along, kicking up the ground and champing at the bit, with the monkey holding very tightly to the saddle, and crying out frequently, when he is bitten by the dogs. After they have entertained the audience for a while with this sport, which often results in the death of the horse, they lead him out and bring in bears—sometimes one at a time, sometimes all together. But this sport is not very pleasant to watch. At the end, they bring on a fierce bull and tie it with a rope about two paces long to a stake fixed in the middle of the ring. This sport is the best one to see and more dangerous for the dogs than the other: many of them are wounded and die. This goes on until evening", Caroline Barron, Christopher Coleman, and Claire Gobbi, "The London Journal of Alessandro Magno 1562", *The London Journal* 9, no. 2 (1983): 136–152, at 144.

141 *CSP Ven*, VI (iii): 1669.

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hall. Sir Henry Jerningham, the Lord Chamberlain, prompted the Master of the Revels to take considerable pains to ensure the guests would see something spectacular there, writing to him that

> I have declared to the Queen's highness how that you have no other masks than such as has Byne shewed already before the King's highness, and for that he hath seen many fair and rich beyond the seas, you think it not honourable [but] that he should see the like here. Her highness thinks your consideration were good [but] notwithstanding such hath commanded me to write you saying to me that she knows right well that you can make a shift for need, requiring you do so, and that you shall deserve great thanks.[142]

Accordingly, the tailors, joiners, haberdashers, and other tradesmen were employed from 9 to 26 April, working day and night to satisfy the queen, and to ensure the festivities went without a hitch. On the following day Litolfi took a distinguished guest, Cesare Gonzaga, the son of Philip's commander Ferrante Gonzaga, to the court at Whitehall to present him to the king. As he waited patiently, not having permission to deliver his own credentials, Cesare was welcomed and greeted Philip whose hand he kissed, and subsequently he was invited to another royal banquet and ball that Mary was hosting in honour of the Duchesses of Lorraine and Parma. The young Cesare seems to have enjoyed this event, and the ball afterwards, where he and the Prince of Sulmona danced the galliard vigorously with the Duchess of Lorraine and other guests, and he made such a good impression that he was later invited to hunt with the duchess.[143] Like the others in England, he may well have been eager for war on the Continent, but he allowed himself to enjoy the festivities and mingle with his hosts.

In 1557 language differences hindered integration just as they had done in 1554. Then, two linguistic instruction manuals were published in London that Samson concludes can be read in the context of the verbal exchanges stimulated by the dynastic marriage. They were, he suggests, targeted to aid those "two thousand artisans who followed Philip to settle in London and those who traded with them".[144] In one, *A Very Profitable Boke to Lerne*, the author

142 Albert Feuillerat, ed., *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Reigns of King Edward VI and Mary I* (Louvain: 1914), 225–228, 245. See Loades, *Intrigue and Treason*, 224.

143 Chambers, "Mantuan in London", 85–86.

144 *The Boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe* (London: 1554); *A Very Profitable Boke to Lerne the Maner of Redyng, Writyng, Speakyng English* (London: 1554); Alexander Samson, "Culture

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gives "vocables necessary in daily talke", and imagines a "feast of interloquutours, in which be contained many dayly facio[n]s of speakynge", wherein participants exchanged greetings, pleasantries, and amiable conversation at a dinner table.[145] At the court in 1557 there were not just Spaniards but Italian, French, and Portuguese courtiers and their entourages, and others from all over the Habsburg territories including Germany, Flanders, and, like Mameranus, from Luxembourg as well. There were even men from Russia, drawn to the country through their interactions with the Muscovy Company of London whose founding royal charter was granted by Philip and Mary in February 1555, establishing the beginnings of viable Anglo-Russian trade that would eventually extend overland to Persia.[146] All of the visitors spoke different languages, had varied standards of courtly etiquette, and had to be instructed in the correct domestic protocol. When the Russian ambassador, Osip Nepeia, who had been sent at the behest of Tsar Ivan IV to establish trade agreements with England, took his leave of Philip and Mary's court at Whitehall on Thursday 23 April (St. George's Day) he "cam thrugh the halle, and the gard stod in aray in ther ryche cottes with halberdes", giving him the appropriate pomp as he accompanied Philip "on his way to go to the vespers [in the chapel] … with his accoutrements of purple, accompanied by lord knights attired in the same way".[147] Before the royal couple Nepeja "made reverence in the mode of his country, which was to bow his body after the manner of the Cordeliers,[148] and to touch the ground with his right hand". Loades conjectures that Nepeja spoke a Western language, but in fact he spoke in Russian, praying that God maintain the royal couple "until they had seen the children of their children". His words were interpreted (with some degree of difficulty) by two different courtiers, first in English and then in Spanish, for the benefit of everyone.[149]

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under Mary I and Philip", in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, eds. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: 2016), 155–178, at 162–164.

145 *Profitable Boke*, sig. Aii.

146 Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653*, 2nd ed. (London: 2003), 13–14.

147 Machyn, *Diary*, 134–135; no. 72. Courteville to Viglius, 28 April 1557, *Relations Politiques*, 1:67.

148 A French order of Franciscan friars, their name deriving from the simple rope belts (cords) the monks would tie around their waists to secure their cassocks.

149 "la révérence à la mode de son païs, qu'estoit de clyner son corps à la façon de cordeliers, et toucher la terre de la main droitte; puis se mit à harenguer en son langaige, que fut interprété par un second en anglois et par un tiers en espaignol; et entens que c'estoient propos honestes de remercîments de l'honneur et bon recueil qu'il avoit icy trouvé et qu'il prioit à Dieu maintenir Leurs Majestés tant qu'ils eussent veu les enfans de leurs enfans", *Relations Politiques*, 1:67; Loades, *Intrigue and Treason*, 220. The bold steps of the Muscovy Com-

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Alongside these linguistic hurdles were those presented by the cordialities of meeting and greeting, the everyday etiquette that courtiers shared. The Spanish were notorious for their use of aggrandised gestures of reverence and respect at court, of employing a "humiliative mode of politeness" that demanded the kissing of hands upon meeting, as well as deferential expressions that extended from "I kiss your worship's hands", or "I kiss the feet of your worship", all the way down to describing oneself to a superior as "your slave in chains".[150] The prevalent custom in England, however, was not to humble oneself to such an extent, but to kiss more intimately, prompting one Italian visitor in 1562 to remark that "they kiss each other a lot. If a stranger enters a house and does not first of all kiss the mistress on the lips, they think him badly brought up".[151] Litolfi mentioned his own surprise at the peculiarities of his hosts in 1557:

> When Englishmen meet, they shake hands in the German fashion, and the women kiss each other, as in France; but should a man meet any woman related to him, or his friend, he kisses her in the middle of the street, as he would in the house.[152]

Numerous accounts of Philip's first visit to England remark upon the delicacy with which this difference was handled, particularly by the king himself, who saw fit to kiss not only his future wife in the English manner, but also all of her ladies in waiting.[153] Other visitors showed themselves less adaptable to the peculiarities of their hosts, and various commentators noted whether Spanish or English modes of greeting were obeyed. One Spanish gentleman recalled how "His Highness talked with the ladies according to his custom, while we all kissed the Queen's hands in Spanish fashion".[154] Philip's steward,

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pany during Mary's reign are often recognized as setting the precedent for England's global maritime empire and mercantile superiority in the following centuries, yet too often they are excluded from traditional histories of Marian England. Robert K. Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549–1689* (Chicago: 2014), 27–48. A colourful, but well researched, account of the Muscovy Company and their importance is given in Stephen Alford, *London's Triumph: Merchant Adventurers and the Tudor City* (London: 2017), 65–91.

150 Peter Burke, "A Civil Tongue: Language and Politeness in Early Modern Europe", in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, eds. Peter Burke, Brian Harrison, and Paul Slack (Oxford: 2000), 31–48, at 44.

151 Barron, Coleman, and Gobbi, "Allessandro Magno", 144.

152 *CSP Ven*, VI (iii): 1669.

153 *CSP Span*, XIII: 9; *The Accession and Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial*, ed. and trans. C.V. Malfatti (Barcelona: 1956), 84.

154 *CSP Span*, XIII: 9.

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Juan Barahona, also remembered the same moment, noting that the king and queen "exchanged their compliments according to the customs of this Country, that is kissing one another", while later, "all the Spanish Grandees and Gentlemen … came up to kiss her hands, and she gave them her hand to kiss and received them most graciously".[155]

Most of these decisions must have been predetermined according to a strict hierarchy of precedence to avoid any embarrassing incidents, but there was at least one occasion where things went awry. On Saturday, 21 July 1554, the Duchess of Alba, wife of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, came ashore at Southampton:

> There was waiting for her on the pier the whole body of Spanish Courtiers and the main part of the English. The Marques de las Navas was standing by her introducing the English Noblemen who came to greet her. And among them was the Earl of Arbi (Derby), King of the Isle of Mongaza (Man), who wears a leaden crown, and so great is the reverence shown towards the Monarchs of England that, even being a King, neither he nor anybody else dares to put on one's hat in their presence. And according to the custom of this country he went to kiss the Duchess of Alba, and in spite of her Ladyship shrinking back bewildered, it was only on the cheek.[156]

Perhaps anticipating the multitude of languages that would be spoken at the English court in 1557 and the contrasting modes of greeting, Mameranus decided to bring with him and print in London a response for those who would "desire to know and ask again and again to learn" about Spanish phrases and habits when "conversing among friends": his copy of *Beso Las Manos*, a poem that in this new edition of 1557 (as opposed to his earlier, more barbed satire on laureate poets from 1550) can be read more straightforwardly as a guide helping courtiers to understand "what it [the phrase] means to the Spanish … why there is such reverence for the phrase, and how it came to be used with variety among all the Spanish".[157]

Just as Warner has read certain poems by the English authors in Richard Tottel's *Songs and Sonnets* (1557) as promising "to gratify its purchasers if Spanish assumptions of cultural superiority chafed them at all", we might suggest

155 Barahona, "The Journey to England", 83–84.

156 Ibid., 82–83. Barahona describes another particularly awkward scene between the duchess and Mary when they first met, see 88–89.

157 Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1557), sig. Aii.

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that Mameranus was appealing to similarly "chafed" courtiers, either English or Flemish, who might have been struggling to accommodate the grandiose etiquette of their Spanish counterparts.[158] In the following century one poet remembered fondly how Mameranus and his "light verse made jokes about that excessive culturedness of the Spanish", and himself joked: "Mameranus, let the humble Iberians kiss your hands, knee, and feet".[159] In 1557, then, *Beso Las Manos* playfully teased his Spanish travelling companions for a London audience he knew would be receptive to such humour.

If one were to meet a Spaniard in the street, Mameranus explains, it was proper to doff your cap and say *de vuestra merced, beso las manos* (of your worship, I kiss the hands), and await their bowed response and the reply, *de vuestra merced*. But, the text suggests, the Spanish also turn the phrase and its accompanying gestures to a bewildering array of other uses:

> Remember that simultaneously it is for all things that you wish, or at least many, or that which testifies a grateful and favourable mind, and a ready kindness of spirit. *Beso Las Manos* is on the one hand good day: on the other good night. It is good evening: and later it is good morning: It is hello and goodbye, it is 'I'm honestly very grateful': it is I drink or I toast to you, *Beso Las Manos*. It is 'may your drink be agreeable', or 'may it be advantageous', *Beso Las Manos*
>
> [...]

158 Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 85–86. This also adjusts Warner's later suggestion that Mameranus was mocking his hosts, as we have discussed above.

159 "Ad Nicolaum Mameranum, qui in eam / Hispanorum urbanitatem nimiam, qua / se manus omnium basiare profi- / tentur, versiculis luserat. // Mamerane, manus, genu, pedesque / Serviles sine basient Iberi", Nicolaus Grudius, "Epigrammatum Lib. I.", in *Poemata et Effigies Trium Fratrum Belgarum* (Leiden: 1612), 58. Fray Antonio de Guevara, a Spanish courtier and preacher in the royal chapel, saw the ridiculous side to the behaviour of his fellow countrymen. "Here in this Castile of ours, the ways and varieties of greeting and leave-taking and calling to one another are amazing and even laughable ... The style at court is to say I kiss your worship's hands; others say I kiss your lordship's feet, [or] ... I am the servant and perpetual slave of your house ... It embarrasses me to hear I kiss your hands and it nauseates me to hear I kiss your feet, because with our hands we wipe our noses, with our hands we wipe the matter from our eyes, with our hands we scratch our itch—and we make use of them for other things which are unmentionable in public. With regard to the feet, we cannot deny that they are usually sweaty, have long toenails, are full of callouses, have bunions, and are indeed covered with dust and loaded with mud", Antonio de Guevara, *Segunda Parte de Las Epístolas Familiares*, ed. José María de Cossío, vol. 2 (Madrid: 1952), quoted in Joseph R. Jones, *Antonio de Guevara* (Boston: 1975), 125.

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> When the Devil stood Christ on high, at the top of the temple, and he told Christ to throw himself headfirst downwards from there as there would be troops of Angels present at his descent. Then, they say that, Christ said to his tempter, the Devil: 'Devil, you show which descent I should take from this high point, *Señor, Beso Las Manos*: I have good ladders by which it is possible to descend, whenever I wish, for this reason, depart Devil!'

These jocular scenes had a wide appeal; the work was reprinted five times after its initial publication, and in England at least once more according to the Short Title Catalogue.[160] But Mameranus designed the poem as much to educate as to entertain, and in it he explained how the phrase *beso las manos* had equivalents in many different countries:

> It exists among the Germans too, '*Gnadherr*' [gracious], it is said, meaning 'I toast', it is 'good day' and 'good night to you' … It even means 'child of a cow', which the Flandrians say all the time. And it is also '*Schollеben*', which the Russians also say with such great and varied significance, their heads bowed to the ground.[161]

A second poem he added to *Beso Las Manos*, titled "Point", made a similar, though perhaps slightly harsher mockery of French etiquette and their use of this multifaceted word, in which he wrote: "I ask that you do not say the ugly words *Point* to a girl. *Point* is not of [good] custom, unless always to say honourably".[162] In another work published in London on his arrival, *Oratio Dominica*, he left an addendum instructing his educated readers against making the "error of the common people" when greeting one another:

> The more honoured place itself is always to the right hand: not the place which lies to the wall, as the common people err. For the hand always should be free on the right in every way whether you walk, or will stand, or will sit: Thus you will rightly pay your respect to anyone and stupid ignorance and error will not seize you.[163]

160 Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1557), sigs. Aii, Aiii. See also Appendix 1.

161 Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1557), sig. Aii(r-v). Mameranus had actually corrected this last explanation from his first version of the poem, perhaps reflecting his experience with the Russian envoy at the Marian court.

162 Ibid., sig. Bi.

163 Mameranus, *Oratio Dominica*, sig. Bi.

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Of course, it is impossible to know whether or not Mameranus's efforts to facilitate cordial relationships between courtiers at the London court were taken with the mirth in which they were given, but Thomas Marshe believed that *Beso Las Manos* had a wide enough appeal to merit publication, and it is not difficult to imagine this small quarto circulating in the hands of courtiers as they attempted to greet one another, or perhaps passed about by everyone but the Spanish and accompanied by quiet sniggers. Certainly, Mameranus's casual dexterity with the phrase in his poem would seem to indicate that there was a lot less formality around it—both in the eyes of the Spanish and the English—than has previously been argued for. Duncan, for example, suggests that Philip may have believed that when the English performed it they were signifying their submission to the king according to the Castilian custom of *besamanos*, a swearing of fealty originating in the late Middle Ages. Had the king truly believed such a formal action was taking place, under no circumstances would he or Mary have allowed a text that so casually and humorously undermined it to get to the printing press, nor is it probable that Mameranus would ever have wished it to.[164]

The small number of Spaniards in England compared with the first visit, a much less threatening sight, probably meant that playing off mismatched etiquette as humorous rather than as a sign of cultural incompatibility came more readily to the hosts. It would be a mistake, however, to think that because the number of visitors was reduced they were any less important than their predecessors. Philip was accompanied by the most formidable statesmen in his empire, and their arrival in London once again caused the city to take Europe's centre stage. As the negotiations for war progressed, and many looked ahead to glory on the Continent, Mary flaunted her position as a regnant queen in one of the most powerful political unions in Europe and at the heart of its most diversified and intriguing court. It is, perhaps, time to stop believing 1557 to be the year when Mary's aspirations crumbled around her, and appreciate it with the kind of optimism that she herself expressed to Philip shortly after his departure in June: "we should both pray to God, and … we should put our firm trust in Him, that we may live and find ourselves together [again] … I have the same hope in Him that I always have".[165]

164 Duncan, *Mary I*, 77. Duncan's source for the gesture is Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages", in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: 1985), 109–144, at 125.

165 British Library Cotton MSS Titus B II, fols. 109–110. See Rayne Allinson and Geoffrey Parker, "A King and Two Queens: The Holograph Correspondence of Philip II with Mary I and Elizabeth I", in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues between Nations and Cultures, 1550–1750*, ed. Helen Hackett (Farnham: 2015), 95–117, at 112.

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CHAPTER 5

Counselling the Queen: Princely Humanism and the Five Psalms of David

The reunion of the Anglo-Habsburg monarchs in the spring of 1557 electrified the political and religious atmosphere in which Mameranus disseminated his London quartos. As the last chapter demonstrated, the state ceremonies, religious holidays, and court festivities held during his visit provide an apt lens through which to understand the compilation of his seemingly disparate verses and also the timing of their publication. And yet the citizens of London were never the audience that the poet laureate originally intended for much of this writing, and he probably composed only a small portion of the literature he printed with Thomas Marshe whilst he was a resident there.[1] Much of the work he had published previously on the Continent, hidden sometimes as a short poem or witty verse within a longer collection, or simply as an earlier edition under the same title.[2] To fully appreciate the nuances of these texts as a body of transcultural literature, then, it is necessary to consider the stages of composition and the various political and religious contexts from which they emerged.

Four of the five psalms within the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* that Marshe printed in the spring of 1557, as well as several of the small poems of political counsel that accompanied them, such as "De officio principis" (On the duty of princes) and "De vitiis aulae" (On the vices of court), have their origin in the *Strena Mamerani* (The New Year's gift of Mameranus), a collection of verses that the author wrote just months earlier while he was resident in the Habsburg court in Brussels and subsequently sent to Cologne for his brother, Heinrich, to print.[3] Mameranus addressed his *Strena* to the "Financial Prefects of his Sacred Royal Majesty of Spain and England", the princes of the Habsburg Netherlands

1 The verses within *Oratio Dominica* that mention the Thames and the dedication addressing the Queen within the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* are almost certainly a product of his time in the country.

2 *Beso Las Manos*, for example, first appeared in Cologne in 1550 under the same name, though, as the earlier chapters have shown, it underwent a series of alterations for subsequent appearances, including redactions and the addition of new poems such as "Point dictionis Gallicae vsus elegans et festiuus" and "Strena de lione & asino", before it finally reached the Marian court.

3 Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 106–107.

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who served on the Council of Finance.[4] In 1557 that list predominantly comprised councillors upon whom Charles had also relied, and Mameranus refers to the Count of Horn, Philip de Montmorency, and the Lord of Ruart, Peter Boisot, as well as several Commissioners such as Joos de Damhouder and Albert de Loo as being "formerly a counsellor of the Emperor, and now of the King".[5] Head of the council was William of Orange, who would eventually lead the Dutch Revolt (1566–1648) against Philip's rule in the Netherlands. In the year of Mameranus's address, however, he was the "bold hero" of the Golden Fleece, "a model of virtues, and splendid glory"—favoured by the Spanish king.[6]

Because Mameranus composed so much of the *Psalmi* outside of England and with someone other than Mary in mind, its value as a work of Marian literature might initially seem diminished. But actually its journey to the London press and its eventual receipt into the queen's hands makes it doubly useful for evaluating the currency of a typical example of Habsburg political thought in an English setting. Those parts that Mameranus composed, altered, or omitted specifically for Mary are evidence of how far either her gender or the peculiarities of English Reformation politics impeded his ability as a foreign author to effectively engage her through counsel. Also, that the biblical David was at the centre of the work reveals to what extent the figure of an Old Testament king most commonly associated in England with Mary's father, Henry VIII, and the politics of his Reformation,[7] could find purchase with its first female ruler—an important question in light of Susan Doran's suggestion that domestic authors refused to connect Mary to such figures "because by 1553 they were primar-

4 "Sacrae Regiae Hispanae & Angliae Maiestatis Finantiarum Praefectos", Nicolaus Mameranus, *Strena Mamerani* (Cologne: 1557), sig. Ai. This was a subsidiary of the larger Collateral Councils that Charles V had formally recognised in 1530 and which he and Philip used to centralise the administration of the Low Countries. There were three branches in total. The first was the Council of State, which consisted of the most prominent nobles and administrators (when Philip inherited the Netherlands from his father he appointed the Duke of Savoy to replace Margaret of Hungary as regent of the Netherlands, and his council included the Bishop of Arras, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle; Charles of Berlaymont; Charles Lalaing; and Viglius van Aytta of Zwichem) and which, typically, dealt with martial concerns and foreign affairs. There was also the Privy Council which comprised jurists who presided over legal and domestic concerns and was presided over by Viglius. James D. Tracy, *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands:* Renten *and* Renteniers *in the County of Holland, 1515–1565* (Berkeley: 1985), 28–29; Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, 128.

5 "Consiliarium quondam Caesareum, & nunc Regium", Mameranus, *Strena Mamerani*, sig. Aii.

6 "Heros magnanimus", "Virtutum exemplar, magnificumque decus", ibid., sig. Aiii.

7 John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton: 1989), ch. 2. Also see his article, "Henry VIII as David: The King's Image and Reformation Politics", in *Rethinking in the Henrician Era: Essays on Early Tudor Texts and Contexts*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Urbana: 1994), 78–92.

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ily associated with the Royal Supremacy and theocratic kingship".[8] To address such issues, however, it is first necessary to understand the *Strena* in its own right, for as much as its journey to England can reveal about how the poet perceived the queen, only through considering the circumstances of its original composition can its later alteration have any meaning.

1 The Strict Moralism of a Mid-Century Humanist

Like so many humanists in the 16th century, Mameranus was invested in the reform of institutional learning, believing that a correct education was the foundation of a successful career as a statesman. In particular, his writing on the subject followed the early-century Dutch and German schoolroom humanists, and he endorsed the moral-orientated principles of those school teachers who had indirectly informed his own education—Alexander Hegius von Heek, Rudolf Langen, Rodolphus Agricola, Jakob Wimpfeling, Nicolas Clénard [Cleynaerts], and Joannes Murmellius.[9] Although he was not a teacher himself, Mameranus frequently wrote on the subject of education, his most popular work probably being the *Scholae descriptio* (a description of school), which, when printing it from his brother's press in Cologne in 1551, he set alongside an edition of Murmellius's *Enchiridion scholasticorum*, originally published in 1505. In his dedicatory epistle, Mameranus outlined the qualities of a good teacher: "it is evident that not so much instruction as honour of life, and integrity belong and are sought after". It was his firm belief, he wrote, that it was "better to improve the student under the mediocre instruction of a teacher who for him joins honesty to life, than under the distinguished instruction of a teacher who is of vicious and distasteful habits", a view that aligned him with the Murmellian belief that "the study of morals builds up a man with virtues, it makes him dear to men and to God, and finally it leads him to a blessed life … for without virtue, however much knowledge of letters and philosophy does not help one jot".[10]

8 Susan Doran, "Elizabeth I: An Old Testament King", in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, eds. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: 2010), 95.

9 Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 239. For example, he printed an addition of Clénard's *Institutiones Grammaticae Latinae* with the intent that it be useful to a schoolmaster for setting up a new school (a "*Ludovicus*") in Luxembourg, in *De modo docendi pueros analphabeticos*, ed. Nicolaus Mameranus (Cologne: 1550).

10 "Non tam videlicet eruditionem, quam honestatem vitiae, integritatemque pertinere et requiri. Ac magis proficere discipulum sub mediocri praeceptoris eruditione, qui ei honestatem vitae copulaverit, quam sub insigni, qui viciosis et odiosis sit moribus", "Morum

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Hand in hand with his own motto: "sober, just, and pious", Mameranus translated this strict moralism into his outlook as a counsellor during the 1540s and 50s. As an addendum to the *Scholae descriptio* he tied together the roles of the teacher and the taught at court in a series of small poems, some in heroic verses, others in distiches, pentameters, and heptameters. Taking the form of an imagined lesson to Charles II, Archduke of Austria, who was eleven years old at the time of their composition, Mameranus composed verses by Apollo, Minerva, Plato, King Solomon, the duke's own royal relatives, the Muses, and even Christ on the excellent rules of virtue and on the necessity of study for a young governor, intending them to be a pantheon of exemplars for his recipient.[11] Solomon, for instance, tells Charles that "I have written many thousands of proverbs for my son, who from this source might learn the safe road of the wise man". Christ, on the other hand, tells the young prince to walk in his footsteps and to consider schooling to be a sacred undertaking.[12] Mameranus had written in the dedicatory letter, "as is the teacher, so the disciple: as the Prince, so the subordinate people", which, as he later summarised, meant that "nothing is more disgraceful than an ignorant or uneducated king, and in fact a rude king is an ass crowned". The prince, he argued, "stands forth as an image, a likeness, and an effigy of the living God", and, therefore, "always and in all things he must imitate these: the highest goodness, and the wisdom and greatest power of God".[13]

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studium, hominem virtutibus componit, Deo & hominibus charum facit, & tandem ad vitam beatam perducit, cui quisquis mentem habet, diligentissime vacare debet, nam sine eo quantalibet literarum & philosophiae cognitio, ne quicquam prodest", Joannes Murmellius, *Officium discipulorum*, ed. Nicolaus Mameranus (Cologne: 1551), sigs. Aii(v), ^{2}Cvi. A good overview of Murmellius is given within Juliette A. Groenland, "Humanism in the Classroom, a Reassessment", in *The Making of the Humanities, Volume I: Early Modern Europe*, eds. Rens Bod, Jaap Maat, and Thijs Weststeijn (Amsterdam: 2010), 199–230.

11 Murmellius, *Officium discipulorum*, sigs. aii(v)-av; Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 244.

12 "Millia multa meo scripsi prouerbia nato, / Disceret hinc tutum qui Sapientis iter", Murmellius, *Officium discipulorum*, sigs. aiii, aiv(v)–v.

13 "qualis magister, talis discipulus: Qualis Princeps talis subditus populus", "Turpius ignaro nihil est, vel Rege idiota: / Namque coronatus, Rex rudis, est asinus", "In Terris Princeps omnis uiuentis imago, / Ac simulachrum extat, effigiesque Dei", "semper & in cunctis hic imitandis erit: / Summa Dei bonitas, sapientia summa potestas", ibid., sigs. Aiii, avii(v)–viii. This image is remarkably similar to that of Erasmus, who wrote that "the common people imitate nothing with more pleasure than that which they see their prince do … No comet, no dreadful power affects the progress of human affairs as the life of the prince grips and transforms the morals and character of his subjects … For this very reason the prince should take special care not to sin, because he makes so many followers in his wrongdoings … / … A beneficent prince, as Plutarch in his great learning said, is a living

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Mameranus geared his counsel primarily towards the pursuit of Christian virtue, believing that this, rather than any pragmatic advice on statecraft, was the best way to address the nature of governance. In doing so, his outlook as a statesman falls within a vein of princely humanism still prevalent within the Habsburg Empire during the middle of the 16th century, which was an inheritor of the earlier, more cohesive brand of political literature written by Erasmus and his contemporaries.[14] It emphasised the correlation between the personal virtue of the prince and the condition of the body politic, and was tempered with a form of "civic humanism", the philosophy of political engagement and the *vita activa* (active life) that emphasised the role of the counsellor as an educator and statesman who could instil the prince with the moral virtues necessary for good governance.[15] Whilst numerous intricacies distinguish the writing of these counsellors, they all endorsed the Renaissance concept of Man—the "preoccupation with the human form as embodying the ideal of perfect beauty"—and qualified it with the biblical understanding of Man as the *imago Dei* (image of God).[16] Believing in the human capacity for self-perfection, they attempted to instruct the prince towards fulfilling a role as the ultimate exemplar, a divine representation of Christian virtue and virtuosity whose personal traits would be reflected in the body politic, leading implicitly to good governance and the reform of Christianity. They considered justice, wisdom, fortitude, and temperance among the cardinal virtues, but they stressed above all else the virtue of godliness.[17]

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likeness of God, who is at once good and powerful. His goodness makes him want to help all; his power makes him able to do so". See his *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. Lester K. Born (New York: 1936), 156–158.

14 Its most influential proponents alongside Erasmus were, Guillaume Budé, Baldassare Castiglione, Juan Luis Vives, Antonio de Guevara, and in an English setting, Thomas More and Thomas Elyot. Theirs was the "overwhelmingly dominant political ideology of the age", and, in a Northern European (or transalpine) arena, had a "discrete character as a cultural force" up until the late 1530s. Brendan Bradshaw, "Transalpine Humanism", in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450–1700*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge: 1991), 95–131, at 95; Eric Nelson, "The Problem of the Prince", in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: 2007), 319–337, at 319.

15 Its expression as a body of literature comprised both *specula principum* and systematic educational treatises that set out a minutely detailed and highly structured training regime for princes. Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 16th ed., vol. 1 (Cambridge: 2008), 71, 113–128; Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, Revised Edition (Princeton, N.J.: 1966), 459; Nelson, "Problem of the Prince".

16 Bradshaw, "Transalpine Humanism", 103.

17 Ibid., 103–109; Skinner, *Foundations*, 1: 231.

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In the opening decades of the 16th century there began a slow shift away from the model of the virtuous prince as the seat of sovereignty towards a model that distinguished the state as an independent agent. This, in some cases, led to more pragmatic forms of statecraft that preferred explicit advice on policy-making to moral exhortation, and that eventually began to dismantle the connection between virtue and good government.[18] Much of the impetus for these new theories came from the religious and political instability caused by the Schmalkaldic Wars and other early conflicts of the European Wars of Religion, and, of course, by the rejection of papal authority at the hands of the Reformers.[19] There was, for some, the perception that Charles and then Philip, as Catholic rulers, failed to fulfil the traditional model of the perfect Christian prince, and this perception engendered debate on civil government and constitutional theory.[20] For those authors who supported Charles and Philip in the 1550s, however, Erasmian princely humanism more readily retained its currency alongside and in conversation with the new forms of alternative statecraft.[21] Along with that of Mameranus, the writing of humanists such as Felipe de la Torre, François Richardot, Nicolaus Biesius, Franciscus Goethalsius, and later Jesuit writers such as Juan de Torres, despite their varying loci of operation, each readily carried forward the idea that monarchy was the best form of political structure, and that good government stemmed from the virtues of those princes charged with caring for the commonwealth. They still believed that princes received their power from God, and that they thus ought to be educated as paragons of Christian virtue in order to promote the reform and renewal of Christianity in their subjects. In other words, they upheld the cornerstones of Erasmian princely humanism well past the death of that generation of writers.[22]

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18 This, of course, is a simplification of a vast and complex process that occurred throughout Europe, and which is still being mapped by scholars today. For an overview, see Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: 2002), ch. 14.

19 Robert M. Kingdon, "Calvinism and Resistance Theory, 1550–1580", in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*, eds. J.H. Burns and Mark Goldie (Cambridge: 1991), 193–218, at 193–194.

20 Michael Baylor, "Political Thought", 235.

21 Such as the reception of Machiavellian pragmatism in Spain, the rise of republicanism in the build up to the Dutch Revolt in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands, and the revival of imperialism throughout the Habsburg Empire.

22 Karin Tilmans, "Republican Citizenship and Civic Humanism in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands (1477–1566)", in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage, Volume 1: Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner, vol. 1 (Cambridge: 2002), 107–126, at 113–117; Karin Tilmans, "From Institutio to Educatio: The Origin of Political Education in the Hapsburg Netherlands",

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2 Composing the *Strena Mamerani*

Mameranus tells his readers in the *Strena* that he gives his work to these Habsburg princes according to "an old, laudable, and approved custom", the sending of a New Year's gift as "the forefathers sent on the first calendar day of Janus" as a way to be "mindful of friendship". Ostensibly, he had no other motive than to celebrate the station of his dedicatees, those "men of the high Prince [Philip] who govern money".[23] The work details what titles and roles each person held within the council, and includes a brief insight into their various levels of access to Philip. William of Orange, for example, held the "chief position" and was able to "enter the sacred and chaste Bedchamber of the King and frequently to hear the Royal words".[24] But as well as being a record of Philip's council in the opening years of his rule in the Netherlands, the work should also be understood as a piece of political advice literature that belongs to the genre of *specula principum* (mirrors of princes). Whilst its roots can be traced to antiquity, the genre witnessed a surge in popularity during the 16th century and it was one of the most prevalent modes of humanist political engagement.[25] Its purpose was to instil a member of the ruling class—a prince—with the cardinal virtues necessary for good government. To do this, authors of *specula principum* presented a depiction of the *vir virtutis* (man of virtue) or, occasionally, *vir vitii* (man of

in *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands*, eds. N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree, and Henk Van Nierop (Aldershot: 1999), 41–61; Ronald W. Truman, *Spanish Treatises on Government, Society and Religion in the Time of Philip II* (Leiden: 1999), 6–7, 377–380; Keith David Howard, ed., "Machiavelli and Spanish Imperialist Discourse in the Sixteenth Century", in *The Reception of Machiavelli in Early Modern Spain* (Rochester, NY: 2014), 41–68, at 42–56. There is a decidedly Erasmian argument running throughout the letters on government that Charles wrote to his son in 1543, for example. Charles V, *Cómo ser rey: Instrucciones del emperador Carlos V a su hijo Felipe, mayo de 1543*, eds. Rachael Ball and Geoffrey Parker, Colección Los Austrias (New York: 2014), 149–159. See also the individual chapters on these Spanish authors in Truman's study.

23 "Moris vt antiqui est laudabilis atque probati, / Strenas mnemosynae mittere cuique nouas: / Quas Iani ad primas veteres misere calendas, / Vt sit amicitiae quilibet vsque memor: / Sic non contemni debet, nec inique videri / Consuetudo vetus, percelebrisque diu. / Quos ego nunc veterum ritus pro more secutus, / Pro strena claris carmina mitto viris: / Atque viris celsi qui Principis aera gubernant, / Dispensant gazas pro ratione graues", Mameranus, *Strena Mamerani*, sig. Ai(v). Didier proposes that the work may have been recompense for some royal salary that the poet received around this time, in *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 106–107.

24 "Hicque locum primum Princeps … Tu primus sacrum Regis, castrumque Cubile / Intras, atque audis Regia verba frequens", Mameranus, *Strena Mamerani*, sig. Aiii.

25 Nelson, "Problem of the Prince", 320.

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vice) drawn from legendary, classical, or, in the case of the psalms within *Strena Mamerani*, biblical sources in order to provide a model that could be held up in juxtaposition to a ruler. By choosing to employ (or perhaps tacitly avoid) certain examples that highlighted commonly conceived virtues or vices, an author could allude to a ruler's shortcomings or laud their successes. In this way, Mameranus's verse rendition of the psalms was intended to present a paragon of Christian virtue, the biblical King David (who at the time was widely regarded to have authored all of the psalms), whose thoughts and expressions could serve as a behavioural example to which the dedicatees could aspire or perhaps measure their failures against.[26] To cement such a politicized reading, rather than an exclusively spiritual or contemplative one, the various poems that accompany the psalms contain explicit instruction on the office and duties of the prince, his counsellors, and lower members of the body politic, providing an interpretive aid and outlining the various lessons that could be drawn from the example of David.[27] Mamaranus's Psalm 14, following the Vulgate closely, reads:

> Lord, who will rule with you in the eternal court, and in the tabernacle, and will rest on the holy mountain? He who walks without any blemish or fault and who works continual justice in the whole of his heart. He who always speaks the truth from the whole of his breast, who exercises neither deceit nor treachery with his tongue and who does no evil to his brother and his relative: he who levels no reproaches against his neighbour. In His sight the unjust is brought to nothing. He glorifies the truly right, and who fear the Lord, he who testifies truthfully for his brother, and does not deceive him. He who hands out none of his coins to usury, and who accepts no bribes against the innocent. He who always does these things, shall not ever be moved.[28]

26 Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: 2004), 3.

27 The biblical king's verses, Mameranus wrote, "my Muse has led in heroic feet" ("Duxit in heroos quas mea Musa pedes"). "Heroic feet" is another name for dactylic hexameter. By calling on his Muse like this he presented the psalms as a divinely moderated rendition of scripture, and as a vision of good government that instructed as it praised. To do this, he believed, was his prerogative as a laureate poet (see ch. 1). Mameranus, *Strena Mamerani*, sig. Ai(v).

28 "Qvis Domine aeterna tecum regnabit in aula, / Atque tabernaclis, & sancto monte quiescet? / Qui ingreditur maculis sine labe ac sordibus vllis / Iusticiamque facit, qui toto corde perennem: / Qui loquitur semper toto de pectore verum: / Qui lingua exercet nullam fraudemue, dolumue: / Quique malum fratri nullum facit atque propinquo: / Opprobria

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Accordingly, Mameranus explains in his accompanying composition, "De ipso officio" (Concerning the office itself), good princes of the financial council must perform their duty by upholding justice, looking not to their own advantage nor favouring those who would flatter and lie to them. They must give no one cause to speak poorly of them, but act in a Christian manner above all other things:

> Whoever excels in his office rules on the basis of just government and sacred simplicity: he does not hold a mind implicated in cunning fraud or the art of deception, and he does not desire his own profit. But as though God were observing, he fulfils his duties, and walks the sacred path of simplicity, that man is truly worthy of the name prudent and to be a worthy son of the eternal God.[29]

There was good reason for striving to achieve this level of godliness, Mameranus wrote in "De officio principis":

> The whole world is formed to the pattern of its king. The Prince is the public eye, and is a mirror reflecting the world, directing his looks down from an exalted mountain, and it is under him and according to his image that the subjected people educate themselves, and form their way of life, and in imitating him, they follow his custom. The sun, eye of the universe, pure and brilliant, drives out the formless darkness: so let the illustrious Prince purify the vicious souls of men with the radiating splendour of his virtues, and by the example and the image of his pure life, just as the eye of a master, or the clearest sun in the world, that would penetrate through darkness with its shining light and illuminate all men with the splendour of its virtue.[30]

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aduersus vicinum nulla leuauit: / Eius in aspectu ad nihilum deductus iniquus: / Glorificat vero rectos, Dominum que timentes: / Qui iurat fratri pure, nec decipit ipsum: / Praestat ad vsuram sua qui numismata nulam: / Et super innocuum qui accepit munera nulla: / Qui facit haec semper, non ille mouebitur vnquam", ibid., sig. Bi(v).

29 "Officium quicunque suum moderamine iusto / Praestat & ex santa simplicitate regit: / Nec tenet implicitum versuta fraude, nec arte / Vafra animum: lucro nec studet ille suo: / Sed veluti spectante Deo, sua munia praestat, / Et graditur sanctum simplicitatis iter: / Ille vir est verem prudentis nomine dignus, / Dignus & aeterni filius esse Dei", ibid., sig. Aiii.

30 Ibid., sig. Biv(v). For the Latin original, see the corresponding passage in *Psalmi Davidis quinque* in Appendix 3.

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This image of the conspicuous position of the prince was a timeless aphorism in the genre of *specula principum*, but here the most probable source is a strikingly similar verse within "The Fourth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius", written in 398A.D. by the Roman poet Claudian—a popular source for those Renaissance humanists who wrote political theory alongside Erasmus and endorsed the call of *ad fontes*.[31] Like Claudian, Mameranus also warned that the renown associated with rule brought with it danger as well as opportunity for good, though he drew on another Roman poet, Juvenal, to make his point, and couched his words within a Christianized framework of *peccatum* (sin): "the Prince sins more through example than by being accused of a fault, and for God in heavens, his crime is greater, for the crime resulting from any vice of mind is all the more visible as he who sins is held in higher esteem".[32] The ultimate goal of this advice was to promote the reform of Christian practice within the population, and so Mameranus was sure to mention that

> all piety, religion itself, honesty, and virtue, however much celebrated, and a life led in accordance with godly toil will be unpleasant to God, if the Prince carries out all these things in secret, so that they cannot be seen by and be useful to the people. For the good prince who frequents churches, rouses the inert people by the example of his piety.[33]

31 Claudian, "The Fourth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius", in *Claudian*, 286–335, at 307–309. For example, Thomas Elyot made perfect virtue indistinguishable from perfect Christianity by subsuming the pagan writing of Claudian within a Christian framework, prefacing it with examples of biblical kings who ruled according to the commandments of God. See his *Governor*, 95–99. It is also possible that Mameranus was drawing from the work of Petrarch, who also drew on this passage from Claudian in one of the most influential political treatises of the early Renaissance. See Petrarch, Francesco, "How a Ruler Ought to Govern His State", in *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, eds. Benjamin G. Kohl and Ronald G. Witt, trans. Benjamin G. Kohl (Manchester: 1978), 35–78, at 73. Also of interest is a suspiciously similar passage in Erasmus, *Education*, 159.

32 Mameranus, *Strena Mamerani*, sig. Biv(v); Claudianus, "Fourth Consulship", 307. Greg Walker has shown Elyot deploying a similar passage in 1531, emphasising the exposed position of the king rather than the glory of his lofty station in order to "deliver a very pointed and direct rebuke" to Henry VIII whose behaviour was becoming increasingly questionable. See Elyot, *Governor*, 97; Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford: 2005), 172–173. The quotation from Juvenal, which I am grateful to Luc Deitz for alerting me to, is found in his Satire 8, lines 140–141.

33 Mameranus, *Strena Mamerani*, sig. Ci.

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As Ronald Truman argues of the Spanish tradition as a whole under Philip, the ideas of Mameranus and many other Habsburg authors writing in the middle of the century were a continuation of those of the Erasmians: a "programme of renewal of the Church and of Christian living" still viable in the post-Reformation era.[34]

3 Adapting the Psalms for Marian England

When Mameranus came to England with Philip, he brought with him his psalms and the poems of political advice that accompanied them. Working in London, he stripped the *Strena* of all the parts that specifically addressed the financial prefects of Philip's council and addressed it instead to Mary. Remarkably, he kept approximately 80 per cent of the text the same, including Psalms 1, 14, 36, and 79 verbatim, and also "De officio principis" and "De officio aulae". That it was as easy for him to apply his political advice to Mary in England as it was the preeminent male princes in the Habsburg Empire speaks volumes for the queen's ability to surmount contemporary scepticism of female rule. It also suggests that Mameranus believed that a Marian audience would be receptive to a type of Erasmian princely humanism thought largely to be in decline in England—threatened in the post-Henrician era by Protestant reformers who developed republican theories of government focused as much on the structures and institutions of government as on guiding a prince who could be a personal example to the population.[35] And by those who were writing less on the operation of personal monarchy, and more on community and the commonwealth as the "foundation of political life", concluding that "governorship did not, when push came to shove, reside solely in the person of the king or chief magistrate".[36] In the opening stages of her reign, for example, some Marian

34 Truman, *Spanish Treatises*, 378.

35 John Guy, "The Rhetoric of Counsel in Early Modern England", in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: 1995), 292–310, esp. 300–304; Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569* (Cambridge: 1998), 15–42, 117–119, 209–212; Anne McLaren, "Reading Sir Thomas Smith's De Republica Anglorum as Protestant Apologetic", *The Historical Journal* 42, no. 4 (1999): 911–939.

36 John F. McDiarmid, "Common Consent, Latinitas, and the 'Monarchichal Republic' in Mid-Tudor Humanism", in *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson*, eds. John F. McDiarmid and Patrick Collinson (Aldershot: 2007), 55–74, at 56; Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: 2002), 184.

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authors began emphasising the institutions of government such as parliament and council by which the queen was supposedly limited as a ruler, therefore articulating a debate on constitutional theory and the remit of the monarch in regard to religion.[37]

Mameranus articulated no explicit limitations to Mary's secular or religious powers in the *Psalmi Davidis quinque*. Nor did he see any need to address anything other than her virtue as the foundation of her political efficacy. Instead he carefully crafted an image of her rule that invested authority in her person alone. First, he acknowledged the turbulence of the Reformation years and England's recent heretical past, a prerequisite in the writing of many conservative reformers who wished to glorify the queen's triumphant accession and the restoration of Catholicism.[38] In the dedication, he wrote of the loss of the monastic community, how

> that earlier custom of the blessed life had ceased through unjust fate, on an unfair day, and quickly vanished and the worship of God and even mutual love and religious affection of the monks had grown cold which blossomed healthily across the entire globe in all countries.[39]

Warner has read these words as Mameranus "revelling in England's misfortune", but there is nothing but lament in the poet's tone, and the accompaniment of Psalm 39 (which he also composed specially for his journey to England) reveals the poet juxtaposing this sense of desolation with a triumphant exemplar of salvation, a reflection of what he believed was the providential nature of Mary's accession and the sure hope he had for her own faith and the restoration of Catholicism:[40]

> With expectation I myself have waited for the benign Lord, and being attentive to me He heard my prayers and requests: and out of the depths of hell of my miserable fate, He brought me, and from the dirtying mire of the insufferable dregs of the underworld, and He set me upon a rock, and

37 Alice Hunt, "The Monarchical Republic of Mary I", *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 3 (2009): 557–572, at 566, *passim*. For the bookends to this argument, see Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, 205.

38 Thomas Betteridge, *Literature and Politics in the English Reformation* (Manchester: 2012), 130–173.

39 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aii(v).

40 Warner, *Making and Marketing*, 93–94. Mameranus expressed this belief in her providential accession to the throne most emphatically in his *Gratulatorium*, sigs. Bii(v)–Ci.

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> directed my feet and steps toward the way of salvation, and the path of justice: a new canticle He sent into my mouth, a song to sing for the God of Jacob.[41]

This vision of Catholic redemption was a poignant counter to those domestic Protestant writers who used the psalms to depict Mary's reign as a time of persecution and misery through which David's words could guide them.[42] Framing this psalm, Mameranus's dedication presented Mary in the rhetoric of a perfect Christian prince—a "famous Queen", "who rules the sceptre and helm of England" and "who stems from the blood and stock of great kings":[43]

> His Majesty [i.e. God] has reserved royal power for you in this wondrous order, and has furnished you with virtue against the enemies and rebels: before the face of whom a whole crooked cohort trembled struck down with fear, and quaking with fear lies prostrate at your feet, having confessed its wicked crimes. And that Majesty has given you entirely to warm up in the faith of our forefathers, so that you stand firm as the Marpesian Cliff, lady unmovable and most strong of will, and you, lady, far surpass men in your true piety and know and preserve the old splendour, having been placed in the heart of our Lord's church with a severe guard. It shall preserve you safely in sacred simplicity, so that your rare prudence may lead back to the old splendour after, in the full progress of time, that wicked crop has been cut back and that insane and impious error curtailed, supported and propped up by divine favour.[44]

Against her political enemies, Mary was victorious because she had God on her side. Here Mameranus invests her political potency in her piety and prudence, the cardinal virtues of the ideal Erasmian governor. Just as he had written in his *Strena* that the path to success for Philip's councillors was that of "sacred simplicity", or Christian living, so too was it for Mary. Addressing her gender specifically, contrasting her actions as a singular lady (*faemina*) against the

41 "Expectans expectaui Dominum ipse benignum, / Atque mihi intendens audiuit vota, precesque: / Deque lacu eduxit miserandae sortis abyssi, / Ac sordente luto fecis intolerabilis orci, / Atque super petram statuit gressusque, pedesque / Ille meos & direxit per strata salutis, / Iusticaeque viam: noua cantica misit in ora / Ille mea deo modulari carmina Iacob", Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sigs. Bii(r-v).

42 Ruth Ahnert, "Introduction: The Psalms and the English Reformation", *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 4 (2015), 493–508, at 500.

43 Ibid., sig. Aii.

44 Ibid., sig. Aiii.

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actions of many men (*viri*), Mameranus found in it a source of strength through which her political status could be further heightened: the natural affinity of her sex for pious devotion, the same source of strength that English counsellors such as Henry Parker, the Lord Morley, were identifying in their own advice for the queen.[45]

Mameranus's phrase, "Marpesian rock", echoes the message in the psalms (how God had "set my feet upon a rock"). It would have been especially pleasing to Mary as a female ruler because in Greek mythology Marpesia was Queen of the Amazons, a race of Scythian-born female warriors. Virgil wrote of the "Marpesian Cliff" as an area at the eastern tip of the Caucasus mountain range where it meets the Caspian Sea, and as the region from which Marpesia would launch glorious conquests—the stuff of legends well known during the early modern period.[46] Suggesting that Mary's resolve matched that of such a powerful female monarch, while in the very same sentence suggesting that she could surpass men in her piety, was to offer Mary an invigorating perspective on her capacities as a ruler that combined both martial and religious prowess to figure her as the ideal Christian prince. It was also to make a novel, gendered adaptation to the type of political theory prevalent in the Habsburg Empire that was traditionally aimed at male princes, and it fitted neatly into the English tradition under Mary, where many counsellors were already portraying the queen as a pious virago.[47]

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45 Lorraine Attreed and Alexandra Winkler, "Faith and Forgiveness: Lessons in Statecraft for Queen Mary Tudor", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 4 (2005): 971–989. The translation of "*faemina*" as "lady", as opposed to the more obvious juxtaposition to men (*viri*), "woman", was chosen by Gary Vos and myself because this is a dedicatory poem to the queen, and therefore an address to her. Choosing "woman" renders a certain rudeness to the verse which we thought inappropriate. Choosing "lady" retains the contrast with "men", and yet is polite, even pleasant, which is no doubt what Mameranus was intending.

46 Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.471. Mary probably owned François de Billon, *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe féminin* (Paris: 1555) in which are the legends of the Amazonians and margins full of miniature canons firing off in defence of the female sex. See T.A. Birrell, *English Monarchs and Their Books: From Henry VII to Charles II* (London: 1987), 23; Adrienne Mayor, *The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women across the Ancient World* (Princeton: 2014), 50–51. References to the Amazons can be found in numerous contemporary sources, both for their positive and negative attributes. For the latter see John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*, 1558, sig. Biii. In the work of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim they were praised: "In rulyng of realmes, and buyldnge of cities women excelle … the Amazones were moste worthy in warre and polytyke in peace". See his *A Treatise of the Nobilitie and Excellencye of Vvoman Kynde*, trans. David Clapham (London: 1542), sigs. Eviii(v), Fii(v).

47 Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 271–273.

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It is possible that Mameranus did present to Mary some literature that expressed limitations on the powers held by secular princes, particularly in relation to the Church, and which with no long leap of the imagination could have applied to her own queenship also. Certainly, when it came to ecclesiastical prerogative he was voraciously defensive in his other publications. In a work of polemic he printed on the Continent in 1553, he had written of severely restricting the power of princes, and had clearly set the Church hierarchy in favour of the clergy: "Secular Princes and Magistrates do not hold rule over the Church of God. Indeed they are not Shepherds, but sheep, they ought not to rule, but to be ruled".[48] The Church, he believed, could only be self-regulated and self-governed, and he wrote that ultimate authority was located only in the person of the Pope. In the first of two extant editions of the *Confessio delictorum*, a treatise on auricular confession published twice in Augsburg in 1553, Mameranus again defined the prerogative of Christian monarchs in a lengthy introduction. Warner has shown that Mameranus presented to Philip and Mary one of the two editions of this work when he visited England in 1557, possibly the one with this introduction included.[49] In it he attacked the "Superintendents and Ministers of the sectarian church", aiming vicious polemic at the Protestant reformers on the Continent, and expounded on the supremacy of ecclesiastical over secular authority in all Church domains. Neither popular election nor appointment by prince or magistrate could give the secular authorities in Germany the government of the Church nor the right to teach its doctrine, he argued, and at length he considered the nature of ecclesiastical ordination by deploying Aristotle's ontological categorisation of substances, splitting the act into its essential and accidental parts:[50]

> And you know from Scripture that secular Princes and Magistrates, as I have said above, hold absolutely no power at all over these things, and that the votes of the people are not essential to ordinance, as it were, but accidental, whereas that ordinance of the Ecclesiastical polity on the grounds of divine arrangement applies to Bishops alone, but the Election, which among you happens through the people or the Magistracy, is not

48 "Saeculares Principes et Magistratus non habent regimen Ecclesiae Dei. Non enim Pastores, sed oves sunt, non regere, sed regi debent", Nicolaus Mameranus and Johannes Faber, *Testimonium Scripturae et Patrum* (Dillingen: 1553), sig. Ei(v).

49 Warner, "Gift of Books", 347.

50 Howard Robinson, "Substance", ed. Edward N. Zalta, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Stanford University: Metaphysics Research Lab, 2014), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/substance/.

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> about the substance of the matter, and its parts are not contiguous but accidental. Indeed the people, secular Magistrate, or even a Prince unless by accident, cannot commend anything unless accidentally, if to this he is asked or required by the Bishop.[51]

This was a sharp contrast to the political theology being developed by Protestant reformers such as Philip Melanchthon, who in 1555 argued that worldly princes were "obliged for the good of the Church to supply necessary offices, pastors, schools, churches, courts, and hospitals" and that they ought "to have knowledge of the Christian doctrine and to pass judgement on false doctrines", as well as in contrast to others who advocated for secular authority within the ecclesiastical polity.[52]

Were this the edition of the *Confessio delictorum* that Mameranus presented to the royal couple in 1557, it would have served as a sharply implied lesson on the limitation of their authority as secular princes within the English Church. However, I believe it is more probable that he chose to present his most up to date version of the work, which included an expanded discussion of auricular confession, deliberately avoiding the question of where Mary's prerogative ended and her Church's began, a particularly sensitive topic in light of the only recently relinquished Royal Supremacy.[53] Instead, in the *Psalmi Davidis*

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51 "Et cum sciatis ex Scriptura Principes ac Magistratus saeculares, ut supra dixi, harum rerum potestatem prorsus nullam omnino habere, et populi suffragia ad ordinationem non esse tamquam essentialia, sed accidentaria, ad solos autem Episcopos hanc politiae Ecclesiasticae, ordinationem dispositione divina spectare, Electionem vero, quae per populam apud vos, aut Magistratum fit, non esse de rei substantia, neque partes eius propinquas, sed accidentarias. Nihil enim populus aut Magistratus saecularis, vel etiam Princeps nisi accidentarie, commendare potest, si ad hoc ab Episcopo rogetur aut requiratur", Mameranus, *Confessio delictorum*, 1st ed., sig, Aiii quoted in Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 204.

52 Philip Melanchthon, *Melanchthon on Christian Doctrine: Loci Communes, 1555*, ed. C.L. Manschreck (Oxford: 1965), 335–337 quoted in Francis Oakley, "Christian Obedience and Authority, 1520–1550", in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*, eds. J.H. Burns and Mark Goldie (Cambridge: 1991), 159–192, at 174, see discussion *passim*.

53 In the opening months of her reign, Mary had used its power to strip from their sees the bishops John Scory of Chichester, John Ponet of Winchester, Nicholas Ridley of London, and Miles Coverdale of Exeter, and in their place appoint George Day, Stephen Gardiner, Edmund Bonner, and John Veysey, respectively. Although she stopped using the title of Supreme Head in her official documents, it was not until November 1554 that she officially relinquished it and returned the headship of her Church to the Papal See. David Loades, "The Marian Episcopate", in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: 2006), 33–56, at 33. Mameranus was certainly aware of the Royal

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quinque he trod a careful line between bolstering Mary's role within her Church and at the same time avoiding the suggestion that she had sole rule over it. In the psalms that Mameranus chose, the queen would find an example of David who was not a director of ecclesiastical affairs, but a primary advocate of the Catholic cause:

> For in an arcane role the scripture of Moses holds about me, that I should always do your bidding in all things, and your will, O Lord, and thus I wanted to be ready to do this. Your law burns in my inmost heart and stirs abounding fires in immeasurable flames that will break through the clouds in the middle of the sky. O Lord, I have myself declared your justice and your mighty works, in a great Church, and my lips will not pass over it, so that you know you are the open investigator of a secretive heart, and that your justice, having been placed in the heart, cannot be hid and I have spoken Your truth about everything, and have myself confessed your whole salvation everywhere …[54]

If the message that Mary was supposed to garner from these lines was unclear, Mameranus was more direct in the dedication. He wished the country to return to a time "when once the pious and monastic way of life sung praises to God night and day: it sang songs, and psalms in all the churches and many sermons of His divine word took place, and frequently the services and rites of Mass, which called the people to holy, honest, and pious matters" also occurred.[55] The best way to achieve this, to animate sound Christian worship within Mary's subjects, he observed, was to have her champion this cause by her own personal example. And Mary could look to the "De officio principis" for an even more specific rendition of this:

Supremacy and the difficulty Mary had in relinquishing it, as he had celebrated England's return to Rome in his correspondence to Count Günther of Schwarzenburg in 1554. Mameranus, "Epistolae", 415–418.

54 "De me nam arcano scriptura volumine Mosi / Continet, vt facerem tua iussa per omnia semper, / Atque voluntatem deus, & sic esse paratus / Vt facerem volui. Tua lex mihi corde imo / Feruet & immensis vndosa incendia flammis / Excitat, vt medij perrumpet nubila caeli. / Iusticiam Deus ipse tuam & magnalia dixi, / Ecclesia in magna, nec eam mea labra tacebunt, / Vt tu secreti rimator cordis apertus / Nosti, iustitiamque tuam nec corde repostam / Abscondi, verumque tuam super omnia dixi, / Atque salutare ipse tuum consessus vbique", Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sigs. Bii(v)–iii.

55 Ibid., sig. Aii.

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> The kings of old were not ashamed to sing with the clergy in the middle of churches, with all the people observing: let him therefore on his knees reverently adore God, and let him worship with a crowd of people, stood around him, looking on, so that they may grow more fervent by his very example, and may always pray to God on behalf of so great a king … For if the humble king reverently adores God, in the presence of the whole population, and as a supplicant performs his prayers, all people will soon follow his example by imitating him: then the piety of the people, then their most ardent passion, will always and everywhere be inflamed by their love of the king, and then they will vie to send their most fervent prayers up to the gates of starry heaven …[56]

Placed in the context of the Marian Restoration, these verses turn from a dutiful rendition of Erasmian princely humanism, relatively detached from the specific policies of Philip's financial council, to a powerful call to action and a blueprint for the queen's devotional practice. Yet Mameranus largely refrained from discussing the theological details of these practices within the *Psalmi*. He advocated the celebration of Mass and praised a religious ascetic of "sacred simplicity", but he never came too close to controversy. For him, the psalms of David provided for the queen an example of Christian spirituality more than a lesson in theology, though this spirituality was ultimately a confessional stance when framed by his personal counsel, and as a whole the work provided an image of governance compatible with her post-Reformation identity as an English monarch. As the dedication to the *Psalmi* makes clear, it was over Protestantism that Mary had been victorious, and to Catholicism that he wished the country to return.

The purpose of the psalms, then, was rhetorically to empower the queen as a figure for religious rejuvenation and to situate her in the guise of an Old Testament king, an innovative move in light of the numerous other Marian authors who believed female models such as Judith and Esther from the Old Testament were more suitable.[57] For Mameranus, David was a suitable exemplar who sat happily within the Erasmian tradition of godly kingship, a figure which in 1557 could remain unencumbered by constitutional anxieties surrounding the government of the English Church and the issue of Mary's gender and so provide the perfect model for counselling her as a Christian prince.

56 Mameranus, *Strena Mamerani*, sig. Ci(r-v).

57 Duncan, *Mary I*, 160–161.

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CHAPTER 6

Reformation on the Road: Catholicism between Cologne and London

In his *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, Mameranus deployed an image of Mary's devotional fervour as the foundation for her princely authority and as a model of religious conduct to which he could direct the attention of his London readers. From the outpourings of joy at Philip's return in 1557 and the widespread and enthusiastic celebration of the couple's public processions and religious rituals, explored in chapter four, the Luxembourgian poet might have believed that the population took as much to Mary's confessional stance as they did to her monarchy. In fact he quickly realised that London was still a hotbed of religious division; the "insane and impious error" still needed to be "curtailed" and the Marian Church required much assistance if it was to succeed in restoring its flock to their former way of life.[1] Another visitor that year, the Mantuan ambassador Annibale Litolfi, was caustic:

> Regarding the faith, each believes as it pleases them, and I truly believe that, even though the Queen tries to use as much strictness as she can, she persuaded very few people to join the Church, as heretics and Lutherans are everywhere, many more than Catholics, especially in this land of London, which is the largest in England, where it is already an achievement if a Mass is said daily in each church![2]

It was not the place of an Imperial poet laureate to write such disparaging remarks, though at times Mameranus would come close to them, taking the

1 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aiii. Even Cardinal Pole recognised that London stood apart from the rest of England in its iniquity and prevalence of heretical opinion. See Eamon Duffy, "Cardinal Pole Preaching: St Andrew's Day 1557", in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: 2006), 176–200, at 181, 187.

2 "Quanto alla fede, creddono poi come pare a ciascuno, et in fatti io truovo che con quanto rigore usi la Reina, ha acquistato puoco per questo conto alla Chiesa, essende molto più in tutti e luoghi gli heretici et lutherani che non i catholici, cominciando da questa terra di Londra, che è lamaggiore che sia in Inghilterra, onde è assai quando si dice una Messa al dì perciascuna chiesa", Annibale Litolfi, "Annibale Litolfi to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, 7 April 1557", b. 571 no. 48, Archivo di Stato Mantua, Archivo Gonzaga, see Chambers, "Mantuan in London", 101–102.

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opportunity of his second audience with the royal couple on 22 May to loosen his tongue on ecclesiastical matters in the final segments of his manuscript petition. And part of his presentation of books to Mary and Philip included a selection of his own theological scholarship, polemic, and spiritual instruction, some of which he printed with Marshe in London, and which he intended to aid the royal couple in their battle to restore Catholicism to the hearts and minds of those English people with the education to read his Latin verse.

Mary may never have read the religious literature that Mameranus offered to her in its entirety, but just that he was able to place this writing into her hands and release some of it onto the London book market seems to sit at odds with Loades' early conclusion that there was "very little direct Continental influence on the restored English Church".[3] Indeed, there is something of a consensus among scholars now that to see Marian England as isolated from the "wider winds of change" is no longer a sustainable claim.[4] Some would go so far as to suggest that the Marian restoration was a precursor to (maybe even the inspiration for) the Counter-Reformation on the Continent, that it anticipated a movement conceptualised most coherently by the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.[5] But the belief that the Marian Church 'invented' the Counter-Reformation in Europe has its problems, and the writing of Mameranus can help to elucidate some of them. Wooding makes an important point: claiming an unequivocal standard of Catholic orthodoxy against which statements about Marian religion can be measured can be misleading, and even impose a "false coherency" on an age characterised by ambiguity and radical change.[6] A variety of beliefs (often bitterly conflicted) existed under the banner of European Catholicism during the mid-century, and so particular care must be taken when suggesting that the Marian Church formulated a coherent doctrinal outlook whose proponents "merged seamlessly" into a unified pre-

3 D.M. Loades, *Politics, Censorship, and the English Reformation* (London: 1991), 203.

4 Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: 2014), 343. Elizabeth Evenden provides a summary of the numerous counter arguments to Loades in recent years, and herself demonstrates the Spanish influence on the restoration of Catholicism. See "Spanish Involvement in the Restoration of Catholicism during the Reign of Philip and Mary", in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, eds. Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (Farnham: 2015), 45–64.

5 Eamon Duffy represents the forefront of the revisionist movement in his *Stripping of the Altars*, 524–537, 563–564; *Fires of Faith*, ch. 9. The historiographical journey to this current state of affairs is traced neatly by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman in "Reassessing Mary", 11–12, and also by Wizeman, *Theology*, 6–9.

6 Lucy Wooding, "The Marian Restoration and the Language of Reform", in *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza*, eds. John Edwards and Ronald Truman (Aldershot: 2005), 49–64, at 50.

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Tridentine belief system.[7] Was the Marian Church, which formally came into existence in 1553, really able to invent a Counter-Reformation that had been in genesis for at least thirty years already, and which itself was part of a longer and even more complex movement of Catholic renewal that had its beginnings as early as the sermons of the Florentine preacher Girolamo Savonarola in the late 15th century, if not before?

The literature that Mameranus brought to England in 1557 represents a small part of that complex, storied movement. Its views predate the Marian Church, since most are traceable in one way or another to the author's time in the bulwark of Continental Catholicism in the city of Cologne in 1550, and back further still to popular medieval strands of devotional piety.[8] Yet aspects of it bear a striking resemblance to the theology, spirituality, and the proposals for reform that English churchmen were advocating, suggesting a certain unity of belief between these two geographically distant epicentres of Catholicism. In printing his works within the heartlands of the German reform movement and then journeying through the Netherlands and into Mary's England, Mameranus exemplifies a movement between two distinct Reformations that is rarely explored. His ideas about the renewal of Christianity are therefore a remarkably fertile ground from which to excavate some of the shared roots of the sixteenth-century Catholic Reformations, their modes of transmission, as well as their regional nuances, and this chapter approaches three predominant strands of that thinking: spiritual instruction, the polemical defence of the institutional Church, and patristic scholarship, before appreciating the direct response that Mameranus gave to the religious situation in London in his manuscript petition to Philip and Mary.

7 Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 207. As David Bagchi notes, to judge theologies by their later Tridentine formulations is teleological. "Catholic Theologians of the Reformation Period before Trent", in *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, eds. David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz (Cambridge: 2004), 220–232, at 220.

8 Of the seven works that Mameranus brought to England, the *Gratulatorium* of 1555 and the bound collection of catalogues detailing the peregrinations, military exploits, and court intrigues of Charles V, as well as his edition of Paschasius's *De corpore et sanguine*, were all printed in Cologne. The *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, as we saw in the preceding chapter, was first conceptualized as the *Strena Mamerani* and printed in Cologne in 1557 before being altered for publication in London and dedicated to Mary. And the first edition of *Beso Las Manos* was also printed there in 1550. The *Oratio Dominica* and the *Confessio delictorum*, whilst they have no direct link to the city, each display themes and theological concerns that can be identified in Mameranus's edition of Girolomo Savonarola's *De simplicitate* and his treatise on his own spiritual outlook, the *Formula auspicandi*, both of which he first published in Cologne in 1550.

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1 Mameranus in the City of Cologne

Since the emergence of Luther's 95 Theses in 1517, the authorities in Cologne had taken increasingly firm measures to repress heresy, meriting the city's designation on its civic seal as "the faithful daughter of the Roman Church", and earning it a reputation for unwavering and institutionalised Catholic orthodoxy.[9] Mameranus was thoroughly entrenched in its intellectual and theological milieu. He matriculated at the University of Cologne on 2 January 1531 under the rector Arnold van Damme. By 15 March 1533 he was a licentiate in Arts and had built a network of educated associates.[10] When he returned to the city in 1550, it was as a familiar amongst the university theologians, and he soon established a friendship with the Flemish scholar and resident of Cologne, George Cassander, who would later write the influential treatise, *De officio pii viri in hoc religionis dissidio* (1561), advocating unity between Protestants and Catholics through a shared reflection on Scripture and the *traditio catholica*. Together the two men would discuss theology, and Mameranus received his aid, along with that of another erudite associate of Cassander's, Cornelius Wouters (a canon of the college of St. Donatien in Bruges who also now lived in Cologne), when he edited his scholarly edition of Paschasius in 1550. During the course of his research Mameranus enjoyed working unhindered in the local monastic libraries and, when it was complete, he dedicated the work to the recently installed Archbishop of Cologne, Adolf von Schaumburg, praising him as a "Patron of the genuine and right Religion".[11] He also received encouragement from a professor at the university, Eberhard Billick (who would attend the Council of Trent in 1551 with the Archbishop), as well as official recognition and approbation from the department of theology, as is stated on the edition's title page. Another of his associates was the professor of canon law, Adolf Eichholz (Adolpho Roborio, 1490–1563), to whom Mameranus would dedicate two books and address in familiar terms, thanking him for the use of his library, particularly "in regards to your book, which you had given in loan".[12] These connections with and approbation from the faculty of theology at the uni-

9 August Franzen, *Die Kelchbewegung Am Niederrhein Im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munster: 1955), 14, 17, quoted in Robert W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: 1987), 217, see generally 217–242; Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (New York: 2007), 27.

10 Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 28–30.

11 "syncerae & rectae Religionis Patronus", Mameranus, *Paschasii de corpore et sanguine Domini*, sig. Bvi; Vocht, "Students", 475.

12 "in tuo libro, quem commodato dederas", Cleofilo, *Coetu Poetarum*, sig. Ai(v); Hermann von dem Busche, *Flora*, ed. Nicolaus Mameranus (Cologne: 1550).

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versity speak firmly to the amount of support he held within the city, since their orthodoxy dominated religious belief at the institution, and the institution was in turn the "most powerful interest group" in Cologne, with its infrastructure intimately connected with that of the city council.[13]

Mameranus also received a high level of support for his publishing ventures. Luther's books were openly burnt in Cologne in 1520 and 1523, and around that time the city council launched an investigation into the printing houses within their jurisdiction, cataloguing names, residences, and guild affiliations. Any printer who wished to circulate literature on the subjects of the pope, the emperor, princes, or important public figures either clerical or secular, was required to obtain a license to do so beforehand.[14] This went hand in hand with the decree of the provincial council of 1536 that forbade "all Printers, Booksellers, and Hawkers to print, sell, and disperse any Book that is not examined", which was consolidated in 1549 by Schaumburg when he created a catalogue of heretical authors whose books were to be forbidden.[15] In 1550, a diocesan synod gave stern mandates on preaching and the use of postils (synonymous with homilies or sermons during this period), banning the use of any material that was deemed to be sympathetic to Protestant beliefs and providing a narrow list of permissible authors.[16] Although these measures were not unanimous in their doctrinal allegiances, they demonstrate that the ecclesiastical authorities supported the civil regulations to help rigorously control the book market. Nevertheless, by 1550 Mameranus's brother Heinrich had established a printing press in the city, probably taking over an existing operation owned by Henricus Artopaeus (with whom he collaborated on at least two occasions). In this fiercely competitive arena the brothers strove to outdo rival print shops run by Melchior von Neuss, Jaspar von Gennep, Johann Quentell, and Martin Gymnich, and in the first two years of his trade Heinrich published at least fifteen works written by his brother—the largest output of any printer there that year.[17] A general privilege approved in the name of Charles V precedes many of the works, dated 17 May 1550, Brussels. It provided security for the business

13 Scribner, *Popular Culture*, 229; Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 63.

14 Scribner, *Popular Culture*, 234.

15 Louis Ellies Du Pin, *A New Ecclesiastical History of the Sixteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (London: 1710), 208, 211.

16 John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: 2010), 136–137.

17 Emil van der Vekene, *Heinrich Mameranus* (Luxembourg: 1973), 10–12. The success was, however, short-lived, and productions stalled soon after. Within a decade the printing press had shut down and Heinrich descended into considerable financial hardship.

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and was valid for ten years.[18] In tandem with Nicolaus's own privilege from the previous year, which granted him license to record and publish the pursuits, expeditions, and pilgrimages of the emperor, it is clear that the brothers enjoyed considerable Imperial favour within a city where printing was strictly controlled by the city council to bolster its defence against Protestantism.[19]

2 Spiritual Instruction: The Sacred Simplicity of Christian Living

Didier writes of Mameranus that "a touch of piety pervaded his whole life", and it is with the affection of spiritual devotion, both at an institutional and individual level, rather than investigative theology that his writing is concerned.[20] He believed that the Church had fallen short in the provision of care for individual souls, and though he occasionally proposed his own reforms "to heal the sick, ecclesiastical organism", as we shall come to see with his petition to Philip and Mary, he said that such business was primarily the duty of general councils.[21] Instead he devoted the majority of his efforts to guiding the day to day spiritual path of his readers, and to gain an insight into his beliefs in this area there is no better work than his *Formula auspicandi*.[22] Printed in Cologne in 1550, this was "a reflection of the religious ascetic ideas of the author himself".[23] It was an apology for the Catholic lifestyle, based largely on his own, and it presented to readers practical advice on how a person might regiment their daily and yearly routine to reach the ideal state of Christianity. It outlines a life absent of vice and indulgence and advocates an almost monastic outlook

18 Georg Sabinus, *Electio et Coronatio Caroli v*, ed. Nicolaus Mameranus (Cologne: 1550), sig. Ai(v). Three councillors witnessed the document. One was the newly appointed Secretary of State, Antoine Perrenot de Granville, who in 1555 would help organise Philip's marriage to Mary with the help of Simon Renard, and who in 1561 became Cardinal of the Mechelen-Brussel's See. Another was Johannes Obernburger (1486–1552), chief secretary to Charles v. The third was the Imperial secretary Paul Pfinzing, who would later become Secretary for German affairs to Philip, and whom Mameranus claimed as one of his patrons. This claim comes from Nicolaus Mameranus, "Mamerani, Caroli v Imperatoris Concionatoris Aulici, Strena", VAULT Case MS Y 682 .M308, Newberry Library Special Collections.

19 Nicolaus's privilege is found in *Catalogus omnium Generalium*, sigs. aii-iv.

20 "Sein ganzes Leben durchweht ein Hauch inniger Frömmigkeit", Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 132.

21 "uni den kranken, kirchlichen Organismus zu heilen", ibid.

22 Unfortunately, copies are hard to come by, and the discussion here relies on Didier's account of the work.

23 "ausserdem ein Spiegelbild für die religiöse asketische Ideenwelt des Autors selbst", Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 210.

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with regards to devotional and meditative practices. Mameranus formulated the work as a prayer book or book of hours and intended it to be memorised in places, though it contains a number of brief theological explications that at times take on aspects of a catechism or an enchiridion. In Cologne during this period, these types of instructional works were popular, and there was a long-established tradition of spiritual writing closely connected with the local Carthusian houses, some of which had already made its way to England before Mameranus arrived.[24]

The *Formula* was based on the idea of consolidating faith through simple spiritual instruction, teaching Christians how to practice virtue by meditating on Christ's life, his works, and his sacrifice.[25] How necessary it was, he wrote, to remember that "because He sent His only son, so that He died an ignominious and awful death in exchange for [mankind's] liberation, another path was not possible to Him".[26] And so to compose his *Formula*, Mameranus took passages from the Church Fathers and late Christian Latin poets, but above all, he wrote, he had kept the Bible at his side, looking particularly to the psalms, which he considered paramount for the devout Christian:

> Thus indeed it will be, that you eventually commit the whole sacred Testament of Jesus Christ to memory, without effort, with delight, and you readily hold in memory the sacred psalms of David always presenting themselves at will for whatever form of prayer, but let there be no work to hand for you so serious and welcome, or necessary, whether in the morning or evening, which may distract or impede you from this undertaking, in respect of which you might postpone or delay this sacred and praiseworthy practice … And it is most shameful for each man not to know the doctrine of his teacher to the very last detail.[27]

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24 Mary C. Erler, *Reading and Writing during the Dissolution: Monks, Friars, and Nuns 1530–1558* (Cambridge: 2013), 107–125.

25 Mameranus edited two other volumes to that effect. The first was an edition of Macario Muzio's *De Triumpho Christi*, first published in Venice in 1499, which he combined with Hermann von dem Busche's *Sertum Rosaceum*, a meditation on the passion of the Christ, in Cologne in 1550. The second was a selection of passages edited from Thomas a Kempis's *De imitatione Christi*, first published 1441, to which Mameranus added an essay on chastity and sobriety, publishing it in Dillingen in 1553.

26 "… quod miserit filium suum unicum ut ginominiosam [sic, i.e. ignominiosam] et diram pro eo liberando mortem obiret, eum alia via possibil[i]s non esset", Mameranus, *Formula auspicandi*, 222, quoted in Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 217.

27 "Sic enim futurum est, ut et sanctum Jesu Christi Testamentum tandem totum memoriae citra negocium cum fructi mandes, et sacros Davidicos psalmos pro arbitrio ad quemvis orandi modum semper occurentes memoriter in promptu habeas, at nullum tibi tam

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Although this passage might seem to suggest otherwise, Mameranus rejected scriptural interpretation by lay readers. When he spoke of knowing the Bible, he meant that Scripture whose interpretation was mediated by patristic authors and the *traditio catholica*. This underpinned the message he would bring from Cologne to England: an emphasis on the contemplation of Christ and his teachings through daily memorisation and meditation, a life of devotion that the Church had a duty to facilitate.

Though he left his *Formula* behind, its influence on the choice of literature he printed in London is clear. For example, Mameranus composed the *Oratio Dominica*, a breviary comprising memorable verse renditions of basic scriptural passages including the Lord's Prayer, the salutation of the Angel Gabriel to Mary (Luke 1:28–31), the Apostles' Creed, containing the Twelve Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, an exposition of the Seven Deadly Sins with their mnemonic device "SALIGIA"[28] printed besides, and the minor doxology, "Glory be to the Father".[29] He dedicated these verses to another member of the Imperial cohort, Jan van der Burch, and wrote that they were intended to show readers the "simple path of faith".[30] With the *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, as we have already seen, Mameranus attempted to instil this same model of Christian devotion in Mary, and consequently into the English population through her example. David's spirituality was one of a specific nature according to the poet. It was a manner of pious living he advocated in every work that he printed in London, and which he voiced throughout his entire career: the way of *sancta simplicitas* (sacred simplicity). Mary, he wrote, had been preserved by God for her throne "in sacred simplicity", and in his poem on the duty of the Habsburg financial councillors he had praised the prince who "walks the sacred path of simplicity", a message he repurposed for

serium et charum negocium aut necessarium vel mane, vel vespere ad manus veniat, quod te … hoc instituto remoretur aut impediat. cujus respectu hanc sanctam et laudabilem consuetudinem postponas aut negligas … Et turpissimum unicuique est nescire sui magistri doctrinam", Mameranus, *Formula auspicandi*, 10–13, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 129.

28 Representing *superbia* (pride), *avaritia* (greed), *luxuria* (lust), *invidia* (envy), *gula* (gluttony), *ira* (wrath), and *acedia* (sloth).

29 In many ways the work's form and intention might be considered similar to Edmund Bonner's *An Honest Godlye Instruction and Information for the Tradynge, and Bringinge vp of Children* (London, 1556); William Wizeman, S.J., "The Marian Counter-Reformation in Print", in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, eds. Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (Farnham: 2015), 143–164, at 154.

30 Mameranus, *Oratio Dominica*, sig. Ai(v). Warner gives an excellent overview of Mameranus's versification techniques and efforts to aid memorisation in *Making and Marketing*, 87–88.

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the London citizenry by changing its title within the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* to "Concerning the Duty of Everyone".[31] But what exactly did he mean by that?

In the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* he included some verses "taken from Sacred Scripture" that discussed the matter: "the Lord himself protects those who walk simply" (Proverbs 2:7); "You must always seek Him in simplicity of heart" (Wisdom 1:1); "I have protected you, because your heart was simple" (Genesis 20:5–6), as well as others. And he concluded that "as the simple son Jesus shows, it is impossible to obtain the joys of the everlasting kingdom if one is not so".[32] However, this collection does little to explain how his phrase translated into everyday practice. In the *Gratulatorium* he comes closer to a definition:

> God chooses what is weak and ignoble and guiltless, and common and dull and low, the contemptable of the world, and brutish and helpless, stupid and with ass-like simplicity. And what is innocent, what is derided by all as foolish, unlearned, ignorant, miserable, rude, and inept. In this way divine power herself governs all human affairs according to His will. The worldly man, with a sense bent against these divine things, with mind broken by allurements, and undone by luxury, and addicted to pleasure, of the belly, and of the gullet, and to what only knowledge of the vain world knows—how riches arise, property, splendour, and office: as the servant of Satan, he himself cannot take in the miraculous and marvellous works of God, nor lay his heart open to Him.[33]

It was a life unconnected from secular affairs. On first glance, it seems almost to be one of abjection and self-abasement. But the message that Mameranus was promoting was a type of spirituality or Christian living that he drew directly from his edition of the Florentine preacher Girolamo Savonarola's *De simplicitate Christianae vitae*, which was one of the most influential treatises of the 15th century, and which Mameranus completed whilst he was in Cologne.[34]

As Donald Weinstein summarises, Scripture provided for Savonarola the "revelation of divine truth, it was a guide to life and it provided the means of

31 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sigs. Aiii, Cii(v); *Strena Mamerani*, sig. Aiii.

32 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Civ.

33 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Biv(r-v).

34 In fact, almost exactly the same list of scriptural passages within the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* can also be found at the beginning of Girolamo Savonarola, *De simplicitate Christianae vitae*, ed. Nicolaus Mameranus (Cologne: 1550). He also translated the work into German two years later. Girolamo Savonarola, *Von ainfaltigkait aines Christlichen lebens*, trans. Nicolaus Mameranus (Cologne: 1552).

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salvation".[35] The preacher taught that Christians could experience an intimate and personal connection with God outside of the ceremonies of the Church, so he promoted devout meditation and attacked all those things he considered superfluous to simple, Christian conduct. In Book V of *De simplicitate*, Savonorola gives his clearest explanation:

> The more a Christian lives simply, the greater the consolations he derives from the study of God and our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Scriptures. For if we speak about interior simplicity, it is certain what we have said: because the more our intellect and affection is simpler, all the more they are geared towards divine illuminations and consolations. Indeed simplicity of heart requires purification from earthly affections, so that the whole spirit and the whole soul may be directed to God, and be assimilated to God, and the whole man becomes simple to the likeness of God.[36]

This outlook might seem to be almost proto-Protestant, in that it prioritised internal faith. Certainly, throughout the 16th century Savonarola's arguments were taken up by evangelical reformers, and even placed on the Catholic Index of prohibited works because he "bypassed the hierarchy of devolved authority" in the Church and advocated direct communion with God without ceremonial practice.[37] He writes:

> the exterior [acts] are the sacraments and the other ceremonies of the church. Exterior acts would not be necessary if man were perfect; but, the less perfect he is, the more he has need of them. Lukewarm persons think that after they've made these pretty churches and other ceremon-

35 Donald Weinstein, "A Man for All Seasons: Girolamo Savonarola, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation", in *La figura de Jerónimo Savonarola O.P. y su influencia en España y Europa*, eds. Donald Weinstein, Júlia Benavent, and Inés Rodríguez (Firenze: 2004), 3–22, at 10.

36 "Qvanto magis Christianus simpliciter uiuit, tanto maiores de DEO & Domino nostro IESV CHRISTO & sacrarum scripturarum studio habet consolationes. Si enim loquamur de simplicitate interiori, certum est quod diximus: quia quanto intellectus noster & affectus est magis simplex, tanto est aptior ad illuminattones [sic, i.e. illuminationes] diuinas & consolationes. Simplicitas enim cordis requirit purgationem ab affectibus terrenis, ut spiritus totus & tota anima dirigantur ad DEVM, & assimilentur DEO, ac totus homo fiat simplex ad similitudinem DEI", Savonarola, *De simplicitate Christianae vitae*, 154–155.

37 Elizabeth Clarke, *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's Poetry: 'Divinitie, and Poesie, Met'* (Oxford: 1997), 27–28.

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> ies they've done it all; but I tell you these are leaves without roots and without virtue. Saints and the perfect have no need of these extrinsic acts to arouse them to religion, but we who are imperfect need these stimuli [*eccitamenti*] of sacraments and other exterior acts.[38]

Savonarola's relationship with external works was complex, but he never precluded them. In fact he affirmed most of the sacraments explicitly, particularly confession and communion, as "important for causing, augmenting, and conserving grace" in *De simplicitate*, and argued that "whomsoever is Christian should furnish himself to frequent these sacraments devotedly".[39]

In his own outlook, Mameranus followed Savonarola's "sacred simplicity" through a sort of active life of contemplation. His *Formula* advocates a cloistered, almost hermetical routine that he himself supposedly followed when he was not disrupted by the changing environments of a travelling court. Each day would be filled with meditation, and he would wake early in the morning before the other members of the court and begin his day with prayers, hearing Mass and a sermon as soon as the opportunity arose.[40] Indeed, in his *Oratio Dominica* he instructs his English readers that "the beginning of wicked thinking and concupiscence must be suffocated" and the good Christian "rise up … and meditate on the bloody death of Christ".[41] But he put a greater emphasis on external acts of faith than Savonarola, and in the same work keenly emphasised the necessity of both:

> About the simple path of faith and the Christian way of life. Not only faith but deeds also lead to the blessed life as long as they are bound up with unwavering faith: pious intention, and also humble confession of sin, and true contrition pouring forth from a pure heart; and just as often as one slips, just so often one rises up from a fall, and quickly regrets committing a sin. God Himself asks and forgives, with fervent heart: as much

38 Girolamo Savonarola, *Prediche Sopra i Salmi*, ed. Vincenzo Romano, vol. 1 (Rome: 1969), 296, quoted in Donald Weinstein, "Explaining God's Acts to His People: Savonarola's Spiritual Legacy to the Sixteenth Century", in *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation: Essays in Honor of Charles Trinkaus*, eds. John W. O'Malley, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson (Leiden: 1993), 205–226, at 216.

39 "inter caerimonialiae sacramentum confessionis & communionis sunt praecipus ad gratiam causandam, augendam & conseruandam. Et ideo debet quilibet Christianus se idoneum exhibere ad haec sacramenta deuote frequentanda", Savonarola, *De simplicitate Christianae vitae*, 167.

40 Mameranus, *Formula auspicandi*, 10–15, 67, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 129–130.

41 Mameranus, *Oratio Dominica*, sig. Aiv(v).

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> as one will be able to, one should always refrain from every crime, God will ask it and will help him against enemies, the world, and carnal pleasure.[42]

Here Mameranus defends confession, but in a wider sense. He is defending Savonarola's exterior acts—the sacraments and ceremonies of faith—as being integral to Catholic piety as much as internal faith, and as the proper way to attain grace. As his *Confessio delictorum* stated, those Protestants who rejected "all the pious rites, and the holy and necessary Ceremonies", had rejected "that which God himself had named, and ordered to be observed in the Church".[43]

Mameranus's message here coincides with the view of the Marian Church, which as Eamon Duffy concludes was that rather than interpreting Scripture personally people ought "to absorb the faith through the liturgy, to find in attentive and receptive participation in the ceremonies and sacraments of the Church the grace and instruction on which to found the Christian life".[44] But another hallmark of the Marian Church was an emphasis on personal prayer, which, as one of the queen's chaplains preached, was "the greatest consolation, and comforte that the soule of man can haue", coming above other acts of devotion such as fasting and alms.[45] Likewise Mameranus's edition of *De simplicitate Christianae vitae* gives the same preference. Savonarola believed prayer was a form of contemplation that brought the soul closer to God and elevated the mind, opening it to the influence of divine workings.[46] The poet followed this through for his London readers, since in their most straightforward reading, both the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* and the *Oratio Dominica* are aids to prayer and to finding spiritual consolation therein.

Mameranus's ideas about spirituality find particular resonance with the *Spirituall exercyses* of the Vicar-General of the Marian Dominicans, William Peryn, which was printed in the same year that the Luxembourgian arrived in England. As William Wizeman has shown, Peryn's *Exercyses* were an aid

42 Ibid., sig. Ai(v).

43 "omnes pios ritus, sacrasque & necessarias Ceremonias, quas ipse Deus suas uocat, et obseruari iubet in Ecclesia", Mameranus, *Confessio delictorum*, 2nd ed., sig. di(v).

44 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 530.

45 Hugh Glasier, *A Notable and Very Fruictefull Sermon Made at Paules Crosse* (London: 1555), sig. Eiv(v). See Wizeman, S.J., *Theology*, 203–204. Cardinal Pole held a very similar opinion, as shown in Thomas F. Mayer, "Cardinal Pole's Concept of Reformatio: The Reformatio Angliae and Bartolomé Carranza", in *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza*, eds. John Edwards and Ronald Truman (Aldershot: 2005), 65–80, at 72.

46 Savonarola, *De simplicitate Christianae vitae*, 52–53; Clarke, *Theory and Theology*, 39.

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for Christians "to come vnto the holy vnyon wyth god".[47] They advocated a "contemplatiue lyfe in an actiue life", following closely a wider trend of Ignatian spirituality that required of its exercitant a life of devout prayer reflecting on the life of Christ, with Peryn focusing particularly upon the Passion.[48] Like Mameranus, Peryn placed a heavy emphasis on the humility of Christian life, instructing readers to pray that God would "specyally graunt me to haue mooste ardent desyre of … profound humilitie, and grace … to labour for yt, euer more desyryng to be contempnynd, dyspysed, rebuked and shamed wyth confusion".[49] This, as Wizeman points out, was not humility for its own sake, but to share in the humility of Jesus and become closer to him.[50] It was an idea of a modest life that abounds in the writing of Mameranus, but particularly in a short poem he composed for his London audience, "The Ass to his Friends", in which he clarified his idea of "sacred simplicity" through the use of an extended analogy:

> A lively man ought to ride the slow mule, so that by means of it he can mitigate his fits of anger: so that he may always avoid the calamity of fault, so that he, once he has offended once, avoids it in any location. And so that he might always use the ass's simplicity, in order to always seize the simple path … And just as it has a head with long ears, and more than full grown, so he would wish to hear more, rather than to speak many things poorly. And just as it is uncultivated in terms of its fodder, so it has scabrous lips, so no one ought to have an elegant palate. Just as it walks slowly, so you must walk modestly, in order that anger and fury not strike you down. It behoves an impetuous person to ride a slow beast, lest his rather debilitating anger carry him astray. For the ass avoids the stumbling block upon which he once has stumbled, and next time advances by another route. Thus you must walk in the newness of a modest life, and seek a new way with a chaste soul. And furthermore it is not in vain that Christ rode an ass a simple, innocent, but rightly cautious animal. Simplicity of life: the caution to avoid vice: in such a way peace and the grace of God will always be near.[51]

47 William Peryn, *Spirituall Exercyses and Goostly Meditacions and a Neare Waye to Come to Perfection and Lyfe Contemplatyue* (London: 1557), sig. Rv(v); Wizeman, S.J., *Theology*, 209–217.

48 Peryn, *Spirituall Exercyses*, sig. Ovii(r-v).

49 Ibid., sig. Lvi(v).

50 Wizeman, S.J., *Theology*, 214.

51 Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1557), sig. Bii(r-v).

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The general purpose of Peryn's writing was a message Mameranus was intimately familiar with: "to come to the perfecte loue of god, and to contempte of the worlde".[52] In the poem preceding "The Ass", "The Lion to his Patrons", he prayed for "a new circumcision of the polluted heart and every vicious desire to sin be expelled". In such a way, "with our heart resolved, may it lie supine in our desire for the Lord, which [desire] we follow with all our mind. How, after this, the sacred will of God be done, but not ours, which knows the flesh, the world, and the triumph of Satan".[53]

Wizeman's analysis of Peryn's work compares it to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus (whose first community was established in Cologne in 1544 by Peter Canisius), and he argues convincingly that it was through Peryn that Ignatian spirituality first appeared in English.[54] Primarily Peryn's *Exercises* were a translation and adaptation of the Flemish priest Nicholas Van Ess's *Exercitia theologiae misticae* (1548), whose author had intimate connections with Loyola and the Cologne Carthusians, and who spent a considerable amount of his life in the city where Mameranus was also most at home (indeed, both were educated at the University of Cologne). That there is a consistency between the spiritual instruction of Mameranus and Peryn, then, is unsurprising, and their similarity adds another strand to the connection that Wizeman has tied between Marian spirituality and the wider spiritual movements within Continental Catholicism.[55] Perhaps, also, it points more conclusively to the origin of much of this traffic being Cologne.

3 Defending the Catholic Tradition

Across the majority of his oeuvre, Mameranus ferociously engages in debates central to Counter-Reformation doctrine. Although he often attacked both sides of the confessional divide with sustained derision, primarily targeting spiritual immorality and lapses in devotional practices, a fierce loyalty to the Church of Rome unifies his scattered output.[56] Whilst in Augsburg in 1552,

52 Peryn, *Spirituall Exercyses*, sig. Ai.

53 Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1557), sig. Bi(v).

54 Wizeman, S.J., *Theology*, 210–211.

55 Ibid., 216.

56 Didier describes him as "a splendid apologist defending the old church and its institutions with great eloquence and expertise" (Er erscheint uns als glänzender Apologet, der die alte Kirche uud ihre Einrichtuugen mit grosser Beredsamkeit und Sachkenntnis verteidigt), in *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 218.

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for example, Mameranus showed his support for the preacher of the Dome, Johannes Faber, who had been working there since 1547. Faber was engaged in the controversy currently raging over St. Peter's presence in Rome and the nature of his Primacy, which was being attacked by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Matija Vlaèiæ Ilirik). Mameranus chose to publish Faber's treatise on the topic in Dillingen in 1552, and in 1553 he issued his own argument in support of it, intended as a preface to Faber's treatise. Mameranus wrote against "the false opinion of denying that Peter was in Rome", and how "by all the Evangelists, Peter is counted in first place in the order of the Apostles and, to such a degree, is head and Prince" of the Church.[57] To anyone who believed otherwise, he unleashed scathing remarks:

> Truly the devil has been busy, to remove sound mind and the understood truth of scripture from your hearts, and to cause you to surpass all heretics who ever lived, every single one of whom has professed to be of one singular sect only: but you with that patron of yours, the devil inspiring and urging on, you have simultaneously recalled and gathered into one place all the heresies of all things damned by the Church: and in addition new things that previously were unheard of, of your same father, of the Prince of infernal demons, for how long under him you have served, and you have worked to his aid and augmented his trade.[58]

Speaking of Flacius in particular, Mameranus derided his arguments, laughing at how Faber "seized the misleader, apprehended with rabid bite he who earlier sharpened his teeth against himself!"[59] Such remarks earned a retort the follow-

57 "Mendax opinio negantium Petrum fuisse Romae", "Et ab omnibus Euangelistis Petrus primo loco in ordine Apostolorum recensetur tanque [sic, i.e. tamque] caput & Princeps: Primus Simon qui dicitur Petrus …" Mameranus and Faber, *Testimonium Scripturae et Patrum*, sigs. Aii(v), Aiii(v). See the corresponding summary in Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 199–201.

58 "Adeo diabolus occupatus fuit, ut eximeret de cordibus uestris sanam mentem & uerum scripturarum intellectum, & excellere vos faceret omnibus qui unquam vixerunt haereticis, quorum singuli unam tantum et singularem professi sunt sectam, vos autem illo patrono vestro, diabolo inspirante et instigante, omnium simul omnes in unum revocastis et suscepistis damnatas ab Ecclesia haereses, insuperque novas quasdam nunquam ante auditas, eiusdem patris vestri, Principis infernalium daemoniurum, quamdiu sub illo militatis, artificio et adiutorio confinxistis et adiecistis", Mameranus and Faber, *Testimonium Scripturae et Patrum*, sig. Fv(r-v).

59 "qui ante in ipsum dentes exacuerat, morsuque rabido apprehensum strinxerat", ibid., sig. Fvii(v), see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 78.

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ing year, when Flacius described the poet as a "popish seducer".[60] Mameranus participated often in these bouts of vicious polemic, claiming in a German tract he issued in Cologne on 28 August 1552 that in the name of religion the Protestants treated their country in a "tyrannical, inhuman, and worse than Turkish way".[61] Often, this led to sustained criticism, both from later historians and his own contemporaries. He was, for example, expelled from the city of Augsburg on 8 June 1553 after his polemic upset Christopher Fugger, of the wealthy Fugger banking family.[62] But it also garnered him supporters. "Bravo Mameranus!" cried one poet in verse:

> You who maintain the churches belonging to eternal God: and you keep any profanity far away from the sacred innermost parts of the church; and you reproach wandering errors with grave speech, as a poet-priest threatening horrible punishments for the blasphemers, you do not fear the tongues of men, nor any weapons. No light Muses or vain Apollo dictates these things; not from Helicon, but from heaven that strength comes to you. Bravo on your pious mind Mameranus! In such a way one goes to the stars; where a laurel that will not perish awaits you.[63]

One of Mameranus's other gifts to Mary and Philip in 1557 was the *Confessio delictorum*, a treatise that defended auricular confession against the attacks of reformers. Mameranus lambasted them as "sectarians" seeking to break up the unified Church, and his language finds a parallel with certain Marian clergymen such as John Standish who wrote that "nothing is so sore to be feared as to be deuided from the vnity of christes churche".[64] In the treatise Mameranus turned first to Scripture to declare his proofs and then early Christian authorities such as Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Eutychian, Basil the Great,

60 The Index described Mameranus as "Papisticus seductor", and refers to page 53, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Historia Certaminvm Inter Romanos Episcopos & Sextam Carthaginensem Synodum, Africanasque Ecclesias, de Primatu Seu Potestate Papae Bona Fide Ex Authenticis Monumentis Collecta.* (Basel: 1554).

61 Vocht, "Students", 476; Nicolaus Mameranus, *Von anrichtung des newen Evangelii* (Cologne: 1552).

62 Vannérus, "Nicolas Mameranus", 303.

63 "Macte animo, Mamerane, pio, & praestantibus ausis; / Asseris aeterno qui sua templa deo: / Sacratisque adytis arces procul omne profanum; / Erroresque vagos corripis ore gravi. / Supplicia & minitans blasphemis horrida vates, / Non hominum linguas, tela nec ulla times. / Non Musaeve leves, vanus ve haec dictat Apollo; / Non Helycone, polo vis venit ista tibi. / Macte animo, Mamerane, pio sic itur ad astra; / Laurus ubi te non interitura manet", Grudius, "Epigrammatum Lib. I.", 77.

64 John Standish, *The triall of the supremacy* (London: 1556), sig. Tiii.

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and Chrysostom. He also called upon the influential writers whom his opponents had cited, and gives different interpretations of them, arguing that in the *Larger Catechism* even Martin Luther had given "the right and Christian opinion concerning confession" despite his inconsistencies, quoting him as saying:

> you shall speak to your beloved father or brother: Venerable Pastor, I wish to entreat to you, that you might gently hear my confession, and you might announce absolution for me, and the remission of my sins before God.[65]

He then states "the false and lying opinion of [Philip] Melanchthon concerning the enumeration of sins" to show where he believes the author is wrong, and does the same with an article of the Augsburg Confession.[66] And he gives the opinion of the Catholic Church against them:

> The Catholic and also universal Church, which even Luther himself follows here. It teaches correctly and contrary [to Melanchthon and the Augsburg Confession] that the enumeration of offences is very necessary, not only through consultation and the remedies of the healing pastor, but also that the accusation and enumeration of a committed offence, expressed orally, must happen openly before God and his priest, his placeholder, on account of the shame and blushing that stems from his humility. 'I will confess', the Prophet says [Psalms 31:5 Vulg.], 'against myself my iniquity to the Lord', so that it is understood that this must happen not so much by heart as by mouth. It is accordingly ridiculous to hold back confession and deny the necessary reviewing of offences.[67]

65 "Recta et christiana Lutheri de confessionem existimatio", "Sic itaque delectum patrem aut fratrem alloquaris: Reuerende Pastor oratum te uelim, ut meam confessionem placide audias, et mihi absolutionem, remissionemque peccatorum adnuncies propter Deum", Mameranus, *Confessio delictorum*, 2nd ed., sig. biv.

66 "falsa et mendax Melanth. de enumeratione delictorum opinio", ibid., sig. bv(r-v).

67 "Catholica autem & universalis Ecclesia, quam his sequitur etiam ipse Lutherus: contra & recte docet, maxime esse necessariam enumerationem delictorum, cum propter consilium & remedia pastoris medici: tum quod ore debet commissi delicti expressa fieri accusatio & recensio coram Deo & eius uicario sacerdote, propter erubescentiam & confusionem ex humilitate. Confitebor, inquit Propheta, aduersum me iniquitatem meam Domino, quod non tam corde que ore fieri debere intelligitur. Ridiculum est siquidem retinere confessionem & negare recensionem delictorum necessariam", ibid., sig. bvi(r-v).

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He then continues with a series of rhetorical questions: how can confession occur if the priest is not told plainly and expressly by mouth of the deeds? Although God knows an individual's crimes, the priest, his earthly minister does not, so "how will he apply the useful healing bandage to a hidden and unknown wound?"[68] This particular image was one used by the Bishop of Lincoln, Thomas Watson, in his *Catholyke Doctrine*, who under the analogy of a physician asked: "for how can the surgion minister an apte and holesome medycine, yf the sicke man wyll not open and shewe hys wounde vnto him?"[69] Unsurprisingly, considering Watson's dependency on decrees of the Council of Trent in other parts of his work, the same image is found in the fifth chapter of the fourteenth session, celebrated on 25 November 1551, though it seems to have been drawn in the first place by St. Jerome in his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*.[70] Wizeman argues that "Watson doubtless saw his teaching on penance as united with the stance of the rest of the contemporary Catholic Church", and to find Mameranus deploying the same imagery five years earlier in Augsburg seems to add weight to the notion.[71]

After dealing at length with the nature of confession, Mameranus set to work defending other areas of Catholic doctrine under attack by the Continental reformers, and again in each case he takes a position directly in line with the beliefs of the Marian Church. He berated those Protestants who denied transubstantiation, and demanded veneration of the Eucharist in "pious and most ancient supplications and public processions", reminding them of Tertullian, who made a habit throughout the year of "the carrying around of the sacred Eucharist in mind".[72] Mameranus despaired of lengthy enquiries into Scripture, and complained about those who "had written huge Commentaries on

68 "quomodo emplastrum utile applicabit medicus ignoto & latenti uulneri?", ibid., bvi(v).

69 Thomas Watson, *Holsome and Catholyke Doctryne Concerninge the Seuen Sacramentes of Chrystes Church Expedient to Be Knowen of All Men, Set Forth in Maner of Shorte Sermons to Bee Made to the People* (London: 1558), fol. cxiix(v).

70 *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Rev. H.J. Schroeder, 2nd ed. (Rockford, Ill.: 1978), 93; St. Jerome, *In Eccl.* 10, 11: PL 23:1096.

71 William Wizeman, S.J., "The Theology and Spirituality of a Marian Bishop: The Pastoral and Polemical Sermons of Thomas Watson", in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: 2006), 258–280, at 270.

72 "Sic pias & antiquissimos supplicationes & processiones publicas, de quibus antiquissimus auctor Tertullianus meminit, in Ecclesia certis temporibus per annum fieri solitas: & circumlationem sacra menti Eucharistiae, id est, uenerandi & preciosi pignoris, corporis Christi", Mameranus, *Confessio delictorum*, 2nd ed., sigs. civ, cvi(v), quotation at cvi(v).

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the Psalter, which barely a pack donkey could carry".[73] He advocated adoration of the Communion of Saints, and their invocation, lamenting how they "alienate and cut them[selves] loose from the people of God, who through disgraceful contempt, call men dead who yet God himself calls living, who he himself deems and affects with honour".[74] Prayers to the Saints were to be upheld. For surely, he says, Origen, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, Augustine, and others all prayed to the Saints, and if it were true that it was idolatry, then "they are all damned".[75] Even "prayers for the dead in their impious and insane doctrine against clear scripture and the tradition and authority and rite of the Church, they have removed and damned".[76] Mameranus then defends the use of images, the Virgin Mary, the tradition and ordering of church ceremonies, good works and fasting, and holds true to the belief that his was the only universal Church of God.[77] In a lengthy conclusion he speaks again of his Protestant opponents. They invoke Scripture, he says, but, as was the custom of heretics, oscillate back and forth in their doctrine. Ignorant of their chief beliefs, they each interpret Scripture according to their own will, leading to base ideas similar to the whims of an Epicurean: "they readily follow the will of the flesh and their desires in all things".[78]

The *Confessio* is a work of polemic, and, in presenting it to the queen, Mameranus perhaps meant it as an example of how to refute the arguments of domestic heretics on each of the key points of doctrine. He was, however, irenic as opposed to exclusionary. During his tirade against his Protestant opponents, he claimed that their fractured and revolutionary institutions were unknown to the universal Catholic Church, and even to Christ himself; but whilst their falseness was a "deceitful and obstinate malice", he urged them:

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73 "Scripsere quidam eorum ingentia Commentaria in Psalterium, quae uix asinus clitellarius circumferre posset: & tamen nullus ipsis usus unquam Psalterii est, neque Latine, neque Germanice: neque in Templis, neque domi", ibid., sig. cv(v).

74 "a populo Dei alienarunt et resecuerunt, quos ignominiose per contemptum, homines mortuos uocant, quos tamen ipse DOMINVS uiuos uocat: quos & ipse honore dignatur & afficit", ibid., sig. cvii(r-v).

75 "Quod sit uerum est, damnati omnes sunt", ibid., sig. cviii(v).

76 "Sic et orationes pro defunctis eadem impia et insana sua doctrina contra expressam scripturam et traditionem et auctoritatem ac ritum Ecclesiae, … remouerunt et damnarunt", ibid., sig. di.

77 Ibid., sigs. di–ii.

78 "Carnis voluntatem et desideria per omnia proni sequuntur", ibid., sig. dvi, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 207. See the corresponding summary of the *Confessio* between 204 and 208.

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> Be strong, recover and return to the Church so that you might be saved, and so that you will exult together with us in indescribable and much-storied joy, praising and glorifying God our Father with our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit through the eternal world.[79]

In the summer of 1557, at the height of the regime's burning of unrepentant heretics, this would have been a poignant exhortation were it shared among a wider audience than just Philip and Mary. But even as a gift to them, perhaps Mameranus hoped his *Confessio* would find their approbation, and an opportunity for circulation at their court or amongst their chaplains. As Duffy has suggested, the Marian regime paid stringent attention to the performance of public penance as a way to "reconcile … offenders to the church and secure their future conformity", and a treatise justifying the humiliating experience of auricular confession and calling for return of heretics to the Church would have been welcome support.[80]

4 Patristic Scholarship between Cologne and England

Ultimately, the *Confessio* is a demonstration of what Didier notes was Mameranus's tendency to avoid speculative theology, preferring to routinely endorse traditional Catholic doctrine through a dependency on the early Church Fathers and the established interpretation of the institutional Church (this, rather than performing any sort of individual theological enquiry).[81] In his *Formula*, Mameranus identified the members of the ecclesiastical body who ignored the *traditio catholica* as the root of the problem within Christendom:

> They say that priests can be found, and even some pastors of churches upon whom the care of souls falls, who own neither the Old nor the New Testament, and neither desire to own it, and not at any time in their whole life read the whole once or even one or the other part. The

79 "Fraudulentam hanc esse vafriciem et obstinatam malitiam", "Valete, resipiscite et redite ad Ecclesiam ut saluemini, et exultabitis una nobiscum laetitia inenarrabili et glorificata, laudentes et glorificantes Deum Patrem cum Iesu Christo Domino nostro et sancto Spiritu per aeterna secula", Mameranus, *Confessio delictorum*, 1st ed. sigs. Aii, Av(v). These passages are found within a preface included only within the first, rarer edition of this work, and may not have been the edition Mameranus presented to the royal couple. See the discussion above, p. 130.

80 Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 133.

81 Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 217.

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> books mentioned above are considered by them superfluous for arousing greater affection of piety. But monks too can be found in that number of people. And also in general people are overwhelmed by leisure to the point of sickness, for whom, because of this reason, respectable and most instructive libraries were instituted by the ancients, who practised piety somewhat more appropriately than we do, but today they are spattered with dirt and overspread in squalor. Men of this sort having been conquered by their conscience, should confess to be none other than pigs, fattened well in the company of Epicurus from the patronage of Jesus Christ, their lazy bellies, having yielded to luxury and leisure, a useless burden of the country, only to burn the crops that are produced.[82]

It was through a reeducation of the clergy, and a proper appreciation of these "ancients" of the Church and the libraries in which their works stood that Mameranus believed abuses could be corrected, and in that belief he joined a strong tradition of conservative reformers both in Cologne, England, and throughout Europe who returned to patristic authors and venerated early Christian writers in a bid to purify their own doctrine and, more controversially, to claim them (sometimes spuriously) to ascribe to their confessional belief.[83]

Most hotly contested were those early Christians who had written on the Eucharistic Presence. Reformers on both sides of the divide eagerly scrambled to 'recover' for their cause venerated authorities on the subject, and in Cologne in particular two Carolingian authors were revived and set in contention with one another: Ratramnus (or "Bertram" as he was known to 16th-century au-

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82 "Sacerdotes inveniri aiunt, adeoque ecclesiarum nonnullos pastores, quibus animarum cura incumbit, qui nec vetus nec novum Testamentum habeant, neque habere curent, neque unquam tota vita sua totum semel utrumque vel alterum perlegant. Illis superflue supra memorati libelli ad excitandum maiorem pietatis affectum nominantur. Sed et monachos quoque ex eo hominum numero comperiri. homines alioqui ocio in nauseam obrutos, quibus ob id bibliothecae a veteribus qui propius aliquanto, atque nos facimus, pietatem colebant, perluculentae, et instrucissimae paratae sunt, hodie pulveribus ac sordibus obpletae et respersae squalentes. Huiusmodi homines sua ipsius conscientia victi, nonne fateri ultro debent, nihil esse aliud se, quam saginatos belle Iesu Christi pntrimonio Epicuri de grege porcos, ventres pigros, luxu et otio deditos, telluris inutile pondus, nonnisi fruges consumere natos", Mameranus, *Formula auspicandi*, 282–283, see Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 131.

83 Wizeman, *Theology*, 64–69; Lucy Wooding, "The Marian Restoration and the Mass", in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: 2006), 227–257, at 248–249; Katrin Ettenhuber, "The Preacher and Patristics", in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: 2011), 34–53.

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thors) and Paschasius Radbertus, each abbots of Corbie, and each the author of treatises entitled *De corpore et sanguine Domini*.[84] Whilst scholars are now coming to understand that these theologians were not writing in opposition to one another, their sharply divergent language to describe the nature of Christ's presence within the sacrament was picked up by authors of the Reformation period, who mostly saw Paschasius as agreeing with transubstantiation and in contrast ascribed to Ratramnus the "figurative" stance.[85] As Ephraim Radner writes,

> [Paschasius] adopted expressions of heightened 'realism'—the sacramental 'body' being the 'true body,' identical with the historically incarnate body of Jesus—while [Ratramnus] carefully laid out an explanation based on the application of 'symbolic' and 'mystical' terms to the sacramental 'body'.

These were linguistic differences, he continues, that "were obvious enough to be grasped in the Protestant-Catholic polemic".[86] But even to 16th-century theologians the difference was not quite so clear cut, and doctrinal partisanship ensured both Carolingian authors had their works claimed for both sides of the confessional divide.

With scholarship focused predominantly on the theological development of Protestant reformers, the use and spread of Ratramnus throughout Europe and to England has been successfully traced.[87] The reception of Paschasius, however, whilst he was certainly the more famous Carolingian author (with roughly 125 copies of his treatise surviving into the 16th century compared with just a handful of Ratramnus), remains a neglected area of study. Richard Rex has noted the influence of Paschasius upon the Eucharistic theology of John Fisher—indeed he is found listed as a defender of the Real Presence along-

84 Burton Van Name Edwards, "The Revival of Medieval Exegesis in the Early Modern World: The Example of Carolingian Biblical Commentaries", in *Bridging the Medieval-Modern Divide: Medieval Themes in the World of the Reformation*, ed. James Muldoon (Farnham: 2013), 107–142, at 126–127.

85 Willemien Otten, "Between Augustinian Sign and Carolingian Reality: The Presence of Ambrose and Augustine in the Eucharistic Debate Between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 80, no. 2 (2000): 137–156, at 137–140.

86 Ephraim Radner, *The End of the Church: A Pneumatology of Christian Division in the West* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: 1998), 230.

87 Hannah Matis, "Ratramnus of Corbie, Heinrich Bullinger, and the English Reformation", *Viator* 43, no. 1 (2012): 375–392.

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side Ratramnus in *De veritate corporis et sanguinis in Eucharistia*, printed in Cologne in 1527—but little more scholarship on the topic exists.[88] Nevertheless, John Hooper, the Bishop of Gloucestershire, and the Protestant clergyman Anthony Gilby both saw fit to attack Paschasius in their treatises against Stephen Gardiner in 1547, and so presumably the Carolingian's work was beginning to garner enough recognition within England to pose a threat to evangelical theology during this period.[89] It was only a year after Fisher first mentioned Paschasius that a Lutheran, Hiob Gast van Hagen, published the first printed edition of *De corpore et sanguine Domini* at Hagenau in preparation for the Marburg Colloquy. Gast wilfully corrupted his source manuscript (a now lost ninth-century witness to Paschasius's original) in numerous places in order to present Paschasius conforming to a figurative conception of the Eucharist.[90] It was not long before the first Catholic editor, Guillaume Ratus, was to print his own edition in 1540, but this little-known text seems to have failed to stay the influence of Gast's edition from spreading throughout Europe at the heart of the Swiss Reformist movement. In only its first year of publication Gast's was relied upon heavily by Martin Bucer for the sixth chapter of his influential commentary on the Gospel of John, published in April in Strasbourg, which went through several editions.[91] No doubt Gast's rendition of Paschasius influenced those ideas Bucer brought to England and shared with Peter Martyr Vermigli (then the Regius Professor at Oxford) during the reign of Edward VI, too.

It was in reaction to Gast's unreliable edition that Mameranus turned his own eye to Paschasius, having discovered two ancient transcripts of the theological treatise whilst searching monastic libraries in Cologne (one held by the monks at St. Pantaleon, and an older copy within a Dominican codex) with George Cassander and Cornelius Wouters. Receiving advice from Eberhard Billick, and in conversation with the theology department of the uni-

88 Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: 1991), 188.

89 John Hooper, *An Answer Vnto My Lord of Wynthesters* [*Sic*] *Booke Intytlyd a Detection of the Deuyls Sophistrye Wherwith He Robith the Vnlernyd People of the Trew Byleef in the Moost Blessyd Sacrament of the Aulter Made by Johann Hoper*. (Zurich: 1547), sig. Civ; Anthony Gilby, *An Ansvver to the Deuillish Detection of Stephane Gardiner, Bishoppe of Wynchester Published to the Intent That Such as Be Desirous of the Truth Should Not Be Seduced by Hys Errours, nor the Blind* [*et*] *Obstinate Excused by Ignorance Compiled by.* A.G., 1547, fol. lxii.

90 Edwards, "Medieval Exegesis", 126.

91 Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, trans. Stephen E. Buckwalter (Louisville: 2004), 81–82; Martin Bucer, *Enarratio in Evangelion Johannis*, ed. Irena Dorota Backus, v. 40 (Leiden: 1988), xvii–xviii.

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versity, he started to compare Gast's edition, which he had obtained from Antwerp, with the two manuscripts and discovered numerous inconsistencies. In his lengthy dedication to the Archbishop of Cologne, Mameranus berates Gast for seeking to persecute everything Catholic whilst possessing no knowledge of Hebrew, and systematically rectifies each error that the Lutheran had made:

> not telling the oblation of Christ, [Gast] omitted these truths from there instead of 'we offer'. And then after these words he stuffed in 'it is read that he made', 'in memory of this' … and then below instead of 'from the altar of Christ', he placed, 'by the spirit of Christ'. And again, a little below, instead of 'we take up the blood of Christ from the altar', he placed, 'we take up the blood of Christ from this sacrament'.[92]

To Mameranus, Gast's actions were abominable: "in fact I do not know whether there is a single other book anywhere more corrupt, and more greatly mutilated, wrenched and distorted by the study and industry of a Forger".[93] And he was not alone in his anger against the editorial work of the Protestant reformers, as particularly within Cologne there had been developing for some time a coterie of Catholic editors who were reviving Carolingian biblical commentaries and works of exegesis as a direct defence against editions brought out by their confessional opponents. Just a few years earlier, in 1524, several Lutherans printed *De victoria Verbi Dei* by a 12th-century Benedictine monk, Rupert of Deutz, with a commentary that claimed him to be a precursor of Luther. This led Johannes Cochlaeus, a biblical humanist who had first found renown in Frankfurt, but who had moved to Cologne in the late 1520s, to undertake his own edition of the work, so "enraged" that he demanded the abbot of Deutz refuse to lend any more manuscripts to Lutheran scholars.[94] After him came a swathe of works published in Cologne that purported to show Carolingian authors supporting Catholic theological views. The zeal of the movement Cochlaeus inspired finds a parallel in Mameranus's own pre-

92 "non ferens oblationem Christi, omisit haec vera, Inde pro nobis offerimus: ac mox infarcinauit post has uoces, Fecisse legitur, Huius rei memoriam, … ac mox infra pro de altari Christi, posuit, per spiritum Christi: rursusque paulo infra, pro Christi sanguinem de altari sumimus posuit, Christi sanguinem hoc sacramento sumimus", Mameranus, *Paschasii de corpore et sanguine Domini*, sig. Biv(r-v).

93 "Haud enim scio an unquam ullus liber usquam corruptior, magisque mutilatus, studioque et industria Falsarii deprauatus et distractus", ibid., sig. Aiv.

94 Edwards, "Medieval Exegesis", 120–121.

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face to Paschasius, in which he writes to the archbishop of the need for stricter laws against wilful textual corruption:

> Indeed, no small wonder holds me, that neither concerning the rash and deadly distorters and forgers of the profane nor of Holy Scriptures, there is a constitution put out or law made known and promulgated which stipulates by which penalty they are to be punished, who wickedly and rudely seize upon good and approved authors, and even Holy Scripture itself, and translators of the same, and Catholic and accepted Authors, having crept up on them with contemptuous spirit, each of them inflicting violence upon them as they see fit, by turns wrenching apart the continuity of the words from their proper place into another order, either amputating or changing diction, clauses, fair pages, folios, or chapters, and whatever they wish at a whim, stuffing things in everywhere. And, in sum, in their zeal they pervert and corrupt all transmitted works, so that the most busy deceivers and seducers are counterfeiting the clear and eternal word of God … What unrestrained rashness, who does not think it ought to be most severely punished by a public edict?[95]

Mameranus's editorial fervour in expunging Gast's errors has been referenced a number of times as an important corrective step in the reception history of Paschasius's views on the Eucharist.[96] His comments on editorial practice and translation work are also demonstrative of the new tradition of textual transmission that was being developed throughout Europe during the mid-century,

95 "non parua quidem me tenet demiratio, nullam neque in prophanarum, neque in sacrarum literarum temerarios ac funestos deprauatores & falsarios, aeditam constitutionem aut expressam & promulgatam legem esse, quae teneat, qua puniendi sint poena, qui in bonos & probatos auctores, & in ipsam adeo sacram scripturam, eiusque interpretes, Catholicos & receptos Scriptores, malitiose ac petulanter fastuoso abrepti spiritu inuolant, uim eis pro suo quisque arbitratu inferentes: uerborum etiam contextum ab se inuicem in aliam seriem distrahentes: dictiones, clausulas, iustasque paginas, & folia & capita uel amputantes, uel mutantes, ac de suo quae uolunt, passim insarcientes: omnia denique dedita opera, & studio peruertentes ac deprauantes: ut impostores & seductores functissimum clarum & aeternum DEI uerbum adulterantes … Quam licentiosam temeritatem, quis non seuerissime putet aedicto publico puniendam?", Mameranus, *Paschasii de corpore et sanguine Domini*, sig. Aii.

96 John C.L. Gieseler called it the "first genuine edition" in John C.L. Gieseler, *A Text-Book of Church History*, ed. Henry B. Smith, trans. Samuel Davidson and John Winstanley Hull, vol. 2 (New York: 1857), 79, n. 3; J.S. Ersch and J.G. Gruber, eds., *Allgemeine Encyclopädie Der Wissenschaften Und Künste*, vol. Third Section, O–Z, Thirteenth Part, Pasch-Paukenperlen (Leipzig: 1840), 12.

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and he has been cited alongside Conrad Gesner and Conrad Lycosthenes as embodying the "new philology". This was a critical approach to textual preservation that relied on careful examination of the largest number of prototypes available in order to establish the most authoritative version.[97] As he complained:

> There are few who think to recall and compare the books of authors once printed to the ancient written exemplars, so that they test whether trust should be applied, whether they are the Author's (as often many are in circulation with a false title), and whether something has been distorted, been omitted, added, or counterfeited. This is the most stupid sense of security, to be content with the first or whatever impression: also to be content with and trust in one or the other ancient written exemplar. If I were equipped with the necessary funds, I would like to browse all the old libraries in the whole world, and to gather six thousand ancient codices, the very archetypes, if they could be possessed, or, if not, copied manuscripts, and to guard them where single manuscripts could be stored up in place of great treasure.[98]

The effect of Mameranus's corrections to Gast's edition can be traced north to Louvain, where the Catholic theologian, Jean Garet (Garetius), a canon of the monastery of Saint-Martin, recognized Mameranus's work in his own influential treatise, *De vera praesentia corporis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiae* (1561):

> If anyone wishes to know the greatest perfidy and the deceptions of this Evangelical man [i.e. Gast], read the preface of Mameranus, which he

97 Jan-Dirk Müller, "The Body of the Book: The Media Transition from Manuscript to Print", in *Materialities of Communication*, ed. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and K. Ludwig Pfeiffer, trans. William Whobrey (Stanford: 1994), 32–44, at 42–43.

98 "Adeo enim pauci sunt, qui cogitent impressos semel Auctorum libros ad scripta uetusta exemplaria reuocare et conferre, ut probent, num fides sit adhabita, num Auctoris sint, ut saepe falso titulo nonnulli circumferunter: num quid deprauatum, num quid ommissum, num quid additum, num quid adulterinum. Stolidissima haec securitas est, acquiescere primae aut cuiuis etiam impressioni; acquiescere quoque et fidere uni alicui aut alteri uetusto exemplari scripto. Mihi si facultates suppeterent, uellem per uniuersum orbem omnes antiquas bibliothecas diligenter excutere, et sex antiquorum codicum millia, ipsos architypos, si haberi possent, uel si non, descriptos congerre, magnique loco thesauri custodire, unde conferri singuli possent", Mameranus, *Paschasii de corpore et sanguine Domini*, sigs. Bi(v)–ii.

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> prefixed to his Paschasius edition of Cologne. I obtained three ancient manuscript examples of Paschasius, which I compared with the Hagenau edition, whence I acknowledged that Mameranus struck against Job Gast with most truthful claims.[99]

One of Mameranus's fellow students of the Collegium Trilingue, Johannes Vlimmer, was simultaneously working on his own collation of Carolingian manuscripts for an edition of Paschasius in 1561. He was also well aware of Gast's edition ("how greatly and fraudulently distorted") and gave a message of support similar to Garet's. "If there is anyone who wishes to see more about this matter", he wrote, they could read his own work,

> or he might read surely the dedicatory letter of the most learned doctor Nicolaus Mameranus, which is prefixed to his Paschasius, collated with two exemplars and edited in Cologne. For there every single thing that was distorted by that Gast, he places most clearly before everyone's eyes, and indeed with great stomach, but yet with good and just zeal, he inveighs against that distorter.[100]

Clearly, then, Mameranus's edition of Paschasius was known in the educated circles of the Habsburg Netherlands in the years following its publication. With the strong connection between Marian theologians such as Stephen Gardiner, Edmund Bonner, and John Christopherson and the intellectual elite of the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, it is quite possible that his work had also filtered through to England prior to his own visit in 1557.[101] Certainly, it

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99 "Si quis summam Euangelici huius hominis perfidiam et furta nosse cupit, legat Mamerani praefationem, quam ille Paschasio Coloniae editio praefixit. Ego nactus sum tria vetusta manu scripta Paschasii exemplaria, quae contuli cum Haganoensi editione, vnde agnoui Mameranum verissima Hiobo Gastio impingere", Jean Garet (Garetius), *De Vera Praesentia Corporis Christi in Sacramento Eucharistiae* (Antwerp: 1561), 8.

100 "ac fraudulenter quam maxime deprauatum", "Si quis vero sit qui hac de re plura videre cupiat … Vel certe legat epistolam dedicatoriam dosctissimi viri Nicolai Mamerani, et Coloniae edito praefixit. Ibi enim singula per Gastium illum deprauata, ob omnium oculos lucidissime ponit, et magno quidem stomacho, bono tamen ac iusto zelo, in illum deprauatoerm inuehitur", Johannes Vlimmer, *D. Paschasii, de corpore et sanguine Domini liber, ad multorum veterum Exemplarium fidem, emendatus: opera Ioannis Vlimmerii, Prioris Canonicorum Regularium Louanii apud D. Martinum* (Louvain: 1561), sigs. Aiii(v)–iv.

101 Henry de Vocht, "Chapter XXIV: I. The Staff", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 13 (1955): 275–282. For example, a student of St. John's College, Cambridge, Richard Brandisby, although not

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would not be the first time a work born of the religious climate in Cologne had passed via the Low Countries and into Marian England. For example, Mary herself owned a copy of the *Margarita Evangelica* (The pearl of the Gospel), "a great summation of Rhineland mysticism" that was written by the Flemish priest Nicholas Van Ess who had studied and taught at the University of Cologne in 1535, and whose work was published by the Cologne Carthusians.[102]

By 1566 at the latest, though almost certainly before, Gast's work was recognised by English authors as a forgery. The Elizabethan religious exile, Thomas Heskyns, for example, wrote in his work *The Parliament of Chryste* how "thys proclamer" Gast had "gotten an olde exemplar of that worke" and "raced [i.e. erased] yt, he blotted yt, yea, he cutte oute wholl chapiters of yt", printing a "mutylated", "torn", and "defaced" edition.[103] It is tempting to think that Heskyns had been informed of Gast's actions through reading Mameranus's edition of Paschasius, but I suspect it likelier that he was drawing on the prefaces of Vlimmer or Garet's edition, considering all three of these works were printed in Antwerp (certainly Vlimmer's was the most influential edition, and some twenty years later John Foxe borrowed liberally from it for his *Book of Martyrs*).[104] Still, we might suggest that Heskyns was indirectly inheriting the corrections that Mameranus had originally made some sixteen years earlier, as would many authors writing after him.

By bringing his edition of Paschasius to England in 1557, Mameranus would have been providing a welcome piece of ammunition in the ongoing debate over Eucharistic theology, and one that would have fitted neatly into the long

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a theologian as such, was an influential figure in Louvain, bringing several manuscripts there in the 1550s including one that greatly aided the production of Vlimmer's edition of Paschasius.

102 Carlos M.N. Eire, "Early Modern Catholic Piety in Translation", in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: 2007), 90; Erler, *Reading and Writing*, 108–113. Interestingly, the Protestant Matthew Parker, Elizabeth I's first Archbishop of Canterbury, owned several works by Mameranus, including his edition of Paschasius, though when he obtained these is unknown (Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, SP.420). John Ramridge, Dean of Lichfield under Mary, owned a copy of Paschasius's *De corpore et sanguine*, which Christian Coppens proposes was either Mameranus's or Vlimmer's edition printed in Louvain in 1561. See his *Reading in Exile: The Libraries of John Ramridge* (*d. 1568*)*, Thomas Harding* (*d. 1572*) *and Henry Joliffe* (*d. 1573*)*, Recusants in Louvain* (Cambridge: 1993), 11–14, 20–24, 99.

103 Thomas Heskyns, *The Parliament of Chryste* (Antwerp: 1566), sigs. Ai(v)–ii.

104 Thomas S. Freeman, "'Commentary on the Text for Book 8', The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online" (HRI Online Publications: Sheffield, 2011), accessed May 28, 2018, http://www.johnfoxe.org.

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lists of patristic and venerated doctors that Marian authors were compiling to support the doctrine of transubstantiation.[105] It would have been a particularly effective counter, for example, to the spread of the ideas of Ratramnus, and to the words of Nicholas Ridley, who claimed under examination by Queen Mary's commissioners on charges of heresy that "Bertram [i.e. Ratramnus] was the first that pulled me by the Ear, and that first brought me from the common Error of the Romish church".[106] And such a careful, scientific approach to editorial work found in the introduction to the *Paschasii* might have proven innovative to Marian theologians, since Wizeman writes that "in filling their works with authorities both authentic and spurious, some … reveal a lack of critical analysis which weakened their emphasis on tradition".[107] In the dedication to the Archbishop of Cologne, Mameranus had written that he hoped the work would "prosper intact to remain to the edification of the Church of the Lord and to the salvation of souls: because it did not exist in obscurity, and was not known only by a small number of people".[108] No doubt that was precisely his intention in bringing it to England.

5 Mameranus and His Appraisal of English Catholicism

The works of Mameranus presented here offer a remarkable insight into the efforts to which an educated and devout layman could go to defend and promote a form of Catholicism that even amidst the backlash of the Protestant Reformation he still believed was recoverable and universal. His spirituality, one of stringent asceticism, has gone down in history as one of his defining characteristics, and certainly the assiduity with which he pursued it in his own life goes beyond the average Catholic layperson in early modern Germany. But predominantly the religious views he published in Cologne—on lay spirituality, on the defence of the *traditio catholica*, and on patristic scholarship, were in tune with the contemporary movement there, and, it seems, found ample similarities with English ideas and practice as well. Mameranus knew, however, that

105 *A Plaine and Godlye Treatise* (London: 1555); John White, *Diacosio-Martyrion* (London: 1553). This last work includes writing by Ratramnus and Paschasius, though it is not Paschasius's *De corpore et sanguine* that is quoted.

106 Nicholas Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D. Sometime Lord Bishop of London, Martyr, 1555*, ed. Henry Christmas (Cambridge: 1843), 206.

107 Wizeman, S.J., *Theology*, 68–69.

108 "integer permanere ualeat ad aedificationem Ecclesiae Domini & animarum salutem: quod non in obscuro esset, neque apud paucos cognitus" Mameranus, *Paschasii de corpore et sanguine Domini*, sig. Bv(v).

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few people could be left to their own devices to lead the life of a good Christian, of contemplative devotional practice. He believed that the English people required leadership to instruct them on the path to the simple life and so when he arrived he advocated for reforming the role of the clergy as preachers with a duty to educate the population on the basic tenets of the Catholic faith. This was the overriding message of his petition to Philip and Mary, which he presented on 22 May:

> Since almost nowhere and most rarely in this whole realm, on the Lord's days [Sundays], and other holidays, does there occur a sermon on the word of God, or a bare rehearsal of His Gospel for the day or even an explanation by the pastor to the population, Your sacred Majesty will be able to be seen to be intending to look after most well and most beneficially the salvation of the whole public if you command all the bishops in the whole kingdom to themselves instruct all the parish priests and pastors subordinate to them that they preach and rehearse the text of the Epistle and the Gospel of that day to the common people in their vernacular language everywhere on each day of the Lord and on other holidays of the year, and that they address them with a rehearsal of the catalogue of Commandments of the Lord, and of the symbol of the Apostle [i.e. the Apostolic Creed].[109]

From the outside, Mameranus saw the cause of London's heretical apostasy to be a paucity of preaching in the vernacular. Whilst he could address and guide an educated audience in the devotional poetry he printed in London, he witnessed a lack of regular sermonizing that he urged the royal couple to rectify, "so that the rude people do not remain ignorant of the word of the Lord, by which they might daily change, regulate, and strengthen their life for the better, and learn to live in a Christian manner".[110] Cardinal Pole, however, rejected such claims. In a letter he wrote on 20 June 1558 in defence of similar charges

109 "cum nusquam & fere rarissime in toto hoc regno, diebus dominicis, aliisque festis, contio verbi dei, aut vel nuda Evangelii eius diei recensio vel explicatio per pastorem ad populum fiat, optime ac saluberrime consultura saluti publicae omnium, sacra Maiestas Vestra videri poterit, si per uniuersum regnum omnibus mandet episcopis, vt ipsi omnibus sibi subditis parochis seu pastoribus praecipiant, vt singulis diebus dominicis, aliisque anni festis ubique textum Epistle & Evangelium illius diei ad plebem in lingua sua vernacula recenseant ac concionentur, cum recensione catalogi preceptorum domini & symboli Apostolici", Mameranus, "Petition 1", fols. 37(v)–38.

110 "ne maneat nescius rudis populus verbi domini, quo vitam suam quotidie in melius commutet, regulet & confimet, discatque christiane viuere", ibid.

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brought by Bartolomé Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain who had once been his collaborator in England, Pole argued that his metropolitan flock had plenty of preaching (*verbi copia*) from both himself and those pastors of the thirteen parishes within his jurisdiction, but that nonetheless, "I find that wherever the Word most abounds, men least profit from it, when it is misused: we see this to be nowhere more so than in London". To have its intended effect, he believed, preaching must be "proceeded or at the same time accompanied by the establishment of Church discipline, because carnal men turn it into an empty ear-tickling entertainment, rather than a health-giving discipline and food for the soul".[111]

While Pole may have doubted the effectiveness of preaching *per se* within London, it formed an integral part of his and of the regime's effort to transmit the appropriately mediated Word of God to the population, and throughout Mary's reign the reform and reeducation of incumbents for this purpose was made a priority.[112] Pole's Legatine Synod of 1555 underscored it as the chief duty of pastors, and it further required bishops and archbishops to preach personally to their flock, and all curates to preach on Sundays and feast-days, the same message as Mameranus offered the royal couple two years later, and which he believed was not currently being achieved.[113] As his *Psalmi Davidis quinque* had made clear, he longed for a time when "the devoted brothers will again sing sacred psalms everywhere in the churches, and they will speak the word of the Lord to the people, and they will teach [them] to live piously and in a holy manner, so that they will reach the pleasures of life eternal".[114] To this end, perhaps, his *Confessio delictorum* was intended to present a series of readily digestible arguments for refuting malignant views on each of the key doctrines of faith, and, by outlining the necessity of the enumeration of sins to a priest, perhaps to defend the role of the clergy as an essential intermediary between the people and their God. As a further defence of the *traditio catholica* and the Fathers, his *Paschasii* provided an excoriation of the wilful corruption of texts by Protestant authors (at least what he believed was wilful), and justified the cornerstone of the Marian restoration, the Mass.[115] Taken as a whole, the hopes that Mamer-

111 Angelo Maria Quirini, ed., *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli*, vol. 5 (Brescia: 1757), 72–73, quoted in Duffy, "Pole Preaching", 181.

112 Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 18–19.

113 Loades has hinted at something similar, describing Pole's Legatine Decrees, particularly the fifth and sixth on the duty of pastors, as indicating a "considerable gulf between the aspiration and the reality". See his *The Religious Culture of Marian England* (London: 2010), 108.

114 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aii(r-v).

115 Wooding, "Restoration and the Mass".

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anus had for Mary and her courtiers are clear, and are summarised in his most powerful exhortation to action printed in London, "The Lion to his Patrons", contained within his *Beso Las Manos*:

> may we … break the sorrowful chains of the sorrow-bringing fault from the past year, a new life freed from the old yoke and conforming to everything of the Lord's sacred doctrine, may it immediately begin at the start of this year, and may ancient Adam step away from his former crime, and a new creation delight, with the Lord's help.[116]

His was a vision of Christian reform, refined in the intellectual milieu of Cologne, that was Christocentric, highly contemplative, and yet fully engaged with all the ceremonies and practices of the traditional, institutional Church (indeed actively attempting to recover the patristic justification for many of them)—and the theology and spirituality of the Marian Church distinctly echoed it. But despite the correlation in theory, during his time in London Mameranus observed a shortfall in the practice of sermonizing, and in the performance by the clergy of pastoral care, and this should not be dismissed as the grumblings of an overly devout, sanctimonious visitor. This Imperial courtier was enormously well travelled. As he pointed out, such regular preaching by the clergy was "a sacred and most Christian custom throughout the whole of lower and upper Germany. And, for the sake of an example, it is said that in a single room in the *Maiore* of Antwerp [i.e. the Burchtkerk] on each of the days of the Lord and on the particular holidays there are made five sermons of the word of God; three before midday and two after".[117] These were remarks that he made based upon his own personal experience in each of these territories. So, when he highlighted that pastors were falling short in their efforts to educate and care for the souls of their parishioners, and that there was a paucity of sermons given in the churches in London, we might take his comparison seriously, and begin to question to what extent the metropolitan Church really was 'inventing' the Counter-Reformation.

116 Mameranus, *Beso Las Manos* (1557), sig. Bii.

117 "ne maneat nescius rudis populus verbi domini, quo vitam suam quotidie in melius commutet, regulet & confimet, discatque christiane viuere. Que est sancta, & Christianissimus per vniuersam inferiorem: & superiorum Germaniam consuetudo. Et, vt exempli causa dicatur in sola aede Maiore Antverpiensi singulis diebus dominicis & praecipuis festis totius anni fiunt verbi dei quinae; ternae ante meridiem & binae post, contiones", Mameranus, "Petition 1", fol. 38.

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CHAPTER 7

Remembering a Queen: Mary Tudor's Habsburg Funeral Ceremony

Didier wrote that "Mameranus would have liked to live in the capital of England forever".[1] That the poet failed to achieve this ambition was probably one of the greatest disappointments of his career. His reluctant departure, almost certainly in Philip's company on the morning of 6 July 1557, seems to have quashed his enthusiasm for publishing; he printed nothing else until 1560.[2] These three years would be his longest hiatus in a decade and came when his output should have been at its height. He was, after all, a newly crowned laureate poet at the heart of a rapidly evolving political landscape and had plenty of potential subjects for his occasional verse. In his *Oratio Dominica*, composed while he was in London, Mameranus had grasped the opportunity to praise Philip's impending campaign against the French, writing two short poems about a Spanish fleet that during the summer sailed between Spain and the northern territories laden with supplies.[3] In the first poem, he eagerly anticipated the results of the war:

1 "In der Hauptstadt des englischen Königreiches hätte Mameranus für immer wohnen mögen", Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 108.

2 Mameranus, "Petition 2, List of Books". Mameranus did contribute a brief encomium for the Carniolan diplomat and Imperial councillor Sigmund von Herberstein's self-published autobiography (a man best known for his extensive travel writing about Russia where he was sent twice as ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor). However, Mameranus does not sign himself *poeta laureatus* as was his habit after 1555, and so I suspect that this was a poem he composed much earlier that was simply printed later as part of the collection. Nicolaus Mameranus, "Ad illustrem clarissimumqve virum domi: Sigismundum liberum Baronem Herberstain, Equitem auratum regiae Maiesta: Consiliarium & ad Polonos atque Moscouitas Oratorem", in *Gratae posteritati Sigismundus liber baro in Herbertein …*, by Sigmund Von Herberstein (Vienna: 1558), sig. Liv(v). His next publications were *Strena Nicolai Mamerani* and *Oratio pro Memoria*.

3 Possibly the one Ruy Gómez was charged with commanding, which scoured Spanish territories for resources and financial aid for Philip's campaign during this period. It arrived in the Netherlands on or just before the 21 June. It is quite possible that Mameranus speaks of another fleet, however, as he had already presented the *Oratio Dominica* containing his thankful prayer for the fleet's arrival to Mary on 16 or 22 May. *CSP Span*, XIII: 290. The Mantuan ambassador Litolfi also eagerly anticipated the safe arrival of Gómez's fleet, though this was because he knew that it would allow him to leave England and return to Brussels, where he hoped the fresh air would restore his ailing health. Litolfi, "Litolfi to Gonzaga, 7 April", 102.

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> May the fleet arrive shortly to us from the westerly Iberians over the stormy sea, propelled by favourable winds, having been expected now for many days. May such a ship deliver sinews and physical strength to the army, may such a ship equipped with men and unlimited wealth arrive. For without this it means nothing, that the soldier rises with arms: nor will that ancient peace of yours be able to return in the whole world, which he [i.e. Henry II] throws in uproar by his army.[4]

Another poem in the same volume subsequently praised the fleet's successful arrival, again imagining Philip leading a final campaign to end the Habsburg-Valois war. But there is no congratulatory poem by Mameranus for the Spanish king's victory with his English troops at St. Quentin, even though this was a spectacular propaganda opportunity for a poet who, in his celebration of the royal wedding in 1555, had savoured the thought of Philip and Mary one day obtaining "illustrious triumphs from the enemy" together.[5] The successful repulsion of the French forces who invaded Flanders during early 1558 (with the ambush at Gravelines on 13 July) was another victory that Mameranus had once clamoured for "so that we might finally live a tranquil life in sweet peace and quietly serve God".[6] And yet even this failed to entice him into composing a new poem.

Working predominantly from the evidence in Didier's biography, Vannérus suggests that Mameranus probably accompanied Philip on his military campaign in France. Didier himself says that it is "barely imaginable" he did anything else.[7] Neither, though, can explain the poet's silence, and instead their accounts are forced to proceed to 14 April 1560, when at the request of Michael Hamont in Brussels the poet published an animal fable in heroic verse, *De asino Sancti Maximini* (On the ass of Saint Maxim).[8] It was towards the end of this poem that Mameranus added his infamous sobriquet, *mamma Maronis* (the breast of Maro [i.e. Virgil]), which caused much of the later derision against him, and so it is to this, and to his fiery participation in the *Disputationes Quodlibeticae* at Louvain University in December of that year, that Didier, Vannérus, and most of the poet's other biographers and cataloguers devote their

4 Mameranus, *Oratio Dominica*, sig. Bi.

5 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Eii.

6 Ibid., sig. Aii(v); Parker, *Imprudent King*, 55–56. In fact, it was not until 1562 that Mameranus made any mention of Gravelines, and even then it was only in passing as he sought to praise Lamoral, Count of Egmont, who had led the troops that day. Nicolaus Mameranus, *Descriptio Aquaeductus*, 2nd ed. (Brussels: 1681), sig. Aiv(v).

7 Vannérus, "Nicolas Mameranus", 306; "kaum denkbar", Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 111.

8 Mameranus, *Strena Nicolai Mamerani*.

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attention.[9] Whether or not Mameranus followed Philip to St. Quentin remains uncertain. Quite plausibly, as he approached sixty years of age, he decided to retire to Brussels instead, where he both held office in the chancellery and had access to an administrative network that could keep him informed of the king's affairs.[10] However, the poet's whereabouts are not a mystery for the entirety of his hiatus from print, since he did not completely relinquish his pen during the year after he left England. In fact, it is possible to locate him in Brussels at the close of 1558.

Rocked by the coinciding deaths of his beloved master, Charles V, on 22 September, the emperor's sister and governor of the Netherlands, Mary of Hungary, on 18 October, and Mary Tudor on 17 November, Mameranus attended each of the funeral ceremonies that Philip held for them in Brussels and took down everything he saw for a grand report, the *Solemnitas exequiarum*. This he intended to be published by his brother in Cologne and printed, as its draft title page states, with "the grace and privilege of the Emperor" that he had so often used in that city to protect his work. But the manuscript never made it to his brother's press; nor is it known whether it was ever circulated, and so far it has escaped scholarly analysis.[11] It is housed in the archives of the Municipal Library of Besançon, sitting alongside two alternative reports on the funeral processions of Charles and Mary respectively, each unsigned, but each also attributable to Mameranus.[12] It is unclear whether or not the poet was able to

9 Vocht, "Students", 477–478; Roersch, "Nicolas de Mamer", 689–690.

10 The king would himself return in October 1557 in search of further financing from the States-General. Parker, *Imprudent King*, 54.

11 "gratia & priuilegio Imperiali", Nicolaus Mameranus, *Solemnitas exequiarum Caroli V. Imperatoris, Mariae Reginae Angliae, Maria Reginae Hungariae*, fol. 185, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon. Collection Chiflet MS 68, fols. 185–203. This remarkable document has been noted by only a single scholar in passing for an article on the Burgundian preacher François Richardot, who gave the funeral sermons for all three occasions. Paul Van Peteghem, "Une oraison funèbre pas comme les autres: Celle de François Richardot pour Charles V. Les pompes funèbres de Bruxelles (29 et 30 Décembre 1558)", in *Liber Amicorum Raphaël De Smedt*, vol. 3 (Louvain: 2001), 259–287, at 267–268.

12 The alternative report on Mary's funeral is titled, *Funebrium Pomparum et Ceremoniarum Solemnitas Mariae Reginae Angliae 28 Nouembris Anni 58 Defuncte*, and is located at fol. 210(r-v). The *Solemnitas* is also followed by a collection of hastily scrawled notes and short verses. Since the two anonymous reports on Charles and the English queen and most of the notes are in a similar hand to the *Solemnitas*, borrow many of the same phrases verbatim from it, and also since the last of these notes is a curious verse dedication in which Mameranus names himself, the whole collection can with some assurance also be attributed to him. Those notes which do not appear in his hand seem to be a crib from which he was working. For example, one is a list of the attendees to the funeral, in the margins of which can be found corrections in Mameranus's hand (fol. 212). The

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gain access to the Cathedral of St. Gudula, where the ceremony was held on 20 and 21 December, since most of his two accounts are concerned with the procession through the city, but there are two other sources that can be introduced as counterparts that fill most of the gaps: the printed sermon of the Burgundian preacher, François Richardot, who preached at the event, and an anonymous report published in Dillingen that provides an account of the funeral apparatus within the cathedral.[13] Together, these sources amount to a largely complete but unstudied record of Mary's memorialisation in an international context, and they suggest that her death was of much greater significance within the Habsburg heartlands than has previously been thought.[14]

1 The Death of the English Queen

When assessing Mary's achievements and the lasting mark that she left on English history, scholars often return to the immediate responses to the death of the queen for pithy reflections on the reign as a whole. Concluding his bleak summary of Mary's rule, Eric Ives stated that "the absence of popular mourning at her death in November 1558 said it all".[15] More recently John Guy proposed that after a disastrous reign during which her "authority collapsed", Mary's death was mourned "only by those in her innermost circle", seeing her supposedly meagre remembrance as a consequence of her failures as a monarch in general, while Andrew Pettegree implied a similar causality

whole grouping can be found within the Collection Chiflet MS 68, fols. 185–215(v). They have so far remained unknown because, as far as I am aware, they never made it to press.

13 François Richardot, "Un autre sermon, fait par le susdit Richardot, devant Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye: Aus Obsèques de la Royne Marie d'Angleterre. Célebrées audit Bruxelles en ladite Eglise Sainte Gudle", in *Le Sermón fúnebre, fait devant le Roy, par Messire François Richardot, Evesque de Nicople, & Suffragant d'Arras: Aus Obseques & Funerailles du Trésgrand, & Trésvictorieus Empereur Charles Cinquiéme* (Antwerp: 1559), sigs. Eii(v)-Fvi; *De Exequiis Reginae Mariae Angliae et Caroli Quinti Imperatoris Maximi Brussellae celebratis* (Dillingen: 1559).

14 They are an invaluable alternative to the only current source historians have for the event, which is the report of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, who failed to attend the funeral due to the somewhat tenuous excuse that he lacked his mourning apparel, and who, as an agent of the new queen, spent more time with Philip discussing relations with the new queen of England than commemorating Mary. Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1558–1559*, vol. I (London: 1863), 38–39; *CSP Ven*, VI (iii): 1568.

15 Eric Ives, *The Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery* (Chichester: 2009), 78.

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between the failure of her religious policies and the fact that "Mary, it seems, was not greatly mourned" as "all eyes turned to the new queen" upon her death.[16]

Others have offered more detailed and measured assessments, for there were important acts of remembrance—official and unofficial; ceremonial, literary, and rhetorical—for the Catholic queen in London, and from them, perhaps unsurprisingly, a more complex picture emerges. Sarah Duncan, among others, has analysed the ceremonial arrangements for Mary's funeral procession and service, held in Westminster Abbey on 13 and 14 December. As she points out, Elizabeth was concerned to demonstrate the capacity of a woman to embody the traditionally male office of sovereign in order to overcome her subjects' potential apprehension at her own accession to the throne, and therefore she ensured that her sister's funeral proceeded with all the ceremonial trappings typically reserved for kings rather than for queens consort. These included martial and feudal symbols such as heralds riding at the head of the procession bearing Mary's helmet, shield, the sword of state, and the Garter Principal King of Arms bearing her coat armour. This followed closely the arrangements that had been made for her father, Henry VIII, and his father before him. Mary was, Duncan concludes, accorded "every dignity in death due a reigning monarch".[17]

For a number of historians, however, Mary's funeral was problematic. Judith Richards describes it as "confusing from the outset", inferior to her predecessors, and surrounded by anxiety over regime change and the anticipated reversal of the Counter Reformation.[18] In the sermon that the Bishop of Winchester, John White, gave on the morning of the 14th, after Mary's body had laid in state in the abbey overnight, he spoke to the dual-gendered office of sovereignty by saying that "she was a king's daughter, she was a king's sister, she was a king's wife", but additionally, that "she was a queen, and by the same title a

16 John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (London: 2016), 10; Andrew Pettegree, "A.G. Dickens and his Critics: A New Narrative of the English Reformation", *Historical Research* 77, no. 195 (2004), 39–58, at 57.

17 Duncan, *Mary I*, 175, see generally 171–178. Accounts of the funeral ceremony and procession are normally from John Leland, "The Entierment of the Most Highe, Most Puysant, and Most Excellente Princess Mary the First of That Name", in *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearne, vol. 5 (London: 1770), 307–323; Machyn, *Diary*, 182–184; Joseph Stevenson, *CSPFE*, II: CXV–CXXIX.

18 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 227–231; "Examples and Admonitions: What Mary Demonstrated for Elizabeth", *Tudor Queenship*, 31–45, at 41; Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 305–307. A particularly nuanced consideration of the problems and complications surrounding the funeral is given in Colbert, "Funeral Sermon", 273–292.

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king also".[19] So much was largely uncontentious. In April 1554 an Act of Parliament had legally established that Mary "should have … and use such like royal authority … as the kings of this realm her most noble progenitors, have heretofore done", and that the "kingly or regal office of the realm" was able to be "invested either in male or female".[20] Elizabeth would rely on this assertion to secure her own authority. Yet White also included a poorly disguised analogy based on the text of Ecclesiastes 9:4. This passage, *Melius est canis vivus, quam leo mortuus* (a living dog is better than a dead lion) seemed, despite his assertions to the contrary, to apply respectively to Elizabeth and Mary. For though it was "far from the meaning of the writer", the "sense of the letter", he provocatively suggested, was to ask "[w]hat beast is more vile than a dog, more worthy than a lion?"[21] Very quickly the bishop found himself under house arrest and in June of the following year he was deprived of his office. Still more provocatively, the printer Richard Lante published a broadsheet memorializing Mary,

> [w]hose body dead, her virtues live, and doth her fame resound;
> In whom such golden gifts were graft, of nature and of grace …
> As Princely was her birth, so Princely was her life,
> Constant, courteous, modest, and mild, a chaste and chosen wife.
> In her greatest storms she feared not, for God she made her shield …
> O mirror of all womanhood, O Queen of virtues pure,
> O constant Mary filled with grace, no age thee can obscure.[22]

Elizabeth was, it seems, angered by the lack of any reference to herself in the text, and once Lante was released from prison he quickly published an amended version with an additional stanza that spoke of the new monarch, "in whom her sister's virtues rare abundantly are seen".[23] Victor Houliston has argued that, following 1558 and over the remainder of the century, there remained in England numerous devoted Catholics who looked with "nostalgia for the good old days" and kept Mary's legacy alive, celebrating her as a model of pious behaviour, and trying to defend her most contentious policies such as

19 John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 3.2: 546.

20 "Anno Mariae Primo Actes made in the Parlyament" (April, 1554) (STC 9943) Cap. I (London: 1554), fol. 2(r-v).

21 Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 543–545, quotation at 543.

22 Anon. *The epitaphe vpon the death of the most excellent and our late vertuous Quene Marie, deceased* (London: s.d.) (STC 2435:13).

23 Ibid. See Edwards, *Mary I*, 335.

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the prosecution of heretics from the charges of Protestant propagandists like Foxe. But, as Houliston also notes, under the new Protestant regime such sentiments were often suppressed and overshadowed by an anxious need to express loyalty to Elizabeth.[24]

Mary's posthumous reputation has thus been shaped by these English sources, each with its own agenda and problems, and rarely do scholars look abroad for evidence of any alternative acts of remembrance performed for the late queen. Often, for a foreign perspective, we are told only of Philip's now familiar response to his wife's death: he showed "reasonable regret", a statement, Edwards suggests, that "indicates all too clearly his lack of emotional attachment to her", and contributes to an image of the queen quickly forgotten within the Habsburg Empire once it became clear that Elizabeth would succeed her.[25] Such accounts markedly underestimate Philip's concern. During Mary's final illness, he made plans to visit her in England, plans that were thwarted only by the sudden French invasion of Flanders. Even though his motivations for the visit were primarily political as opposed to sentimental—to assure that the succession of Elizabeth did not leave a kingdom that was hostile to him—this does not diminish their importance. In its own right, Philip's concern over whether or not his wife would live or die, and his anxiety over the succession, remind us that England mattered greatly to Habsburg politics in 1558. With the French looking to close in, Philip felt his control over the northern territories in his empire slipping from his grasp. The Venetian ambassador Michiel Surian reported that the king's alliance with England remained of the utmost importance to him, and was "much to the advantage of these States [i.e. the Netherlands], which would be lost immediately were England their enemy".[26] Yet there is also good evidence that Philip was genuinely grieved by the declining health and eventual loss of his wife.[27] His confessor reported how the news of Mary's demise, which came on top of the deaths of his father, Charles V, on 22 September 1558, and his aunt, Mary of Hungary, on

24 Victor Houliston, "Her Majesty, Who Is Now in Heaven: Mary Tudor and the Elizabethan Catholics", in *Old and New Perspectives*, 37–48, at 38, *passim*.

25 *CSP Span*, XIII: 440; Edwards, *Mary I*, 335. Edwards also suggests that in 1558 England "appeared largely irrelevant to Continental power politics" (322). Porter, *Mary Tudor*, 407. Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 302–303. Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 246. Patrick Williams suggests that Philip did nothing to mourn her death, citing the same quotation, and overlooking the obsequies for her in Brussels despite discussing the emperor's, in *Philip II* (New York: 2001), 29.

26 *CSP Ven*, VI (iii): 1568.

27 William Thomas Walsh, *Philip II* (New York: 1937, repr. 1987), 202–203; Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven: 2014), 56–58.

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18 October, caused the king to become "so depressed by the death of his father and the others, which so afflict him that he does not want to see anyone for a while".[28] Mary's name may not be mentioned explicitly here, but her loss was the final blow in what was already a disastrous state of affairs. When Philip retired to the Abbey of Groenendaal to plan for his father's funeral and for that of his aunt, he made certain that his wife was to be remembered first of all with a ceremony in Brussels that lasted for two days, on 20 and 21 December, its grandeur and solemnity paling only a little by comparison to the later one for Charles.[29] And when Mary's funeral service in Brussels is given its due consideration, the end of her reign takes on a rather different complexion.

2 The Procession through Brussels

Mary's funeral procession to the cathedral of St. Gudula, which followed identically each day, began at the Palace of Couldenberg. At the head of an extensive cortege, with spectators lining the streets, Mameranus reports that "in the first place two hundred paupers proceeded in dark mourning clothing with waxen torches burning, from which two embroidered arms hung down from both sides, of course of the King and of the Queen, two by two".[30] The number of poor mourners here is significant, since in London Mary was given only

28 Fresneda to Cardinal Caraffa, 11 December 1558, José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, ed., *El Arzobispo Carranza: "Tiempos Recios"* (Salamanca: 2003), ii, 523, quoted in Parker, *Imprudent King*, 57–58.

29 In contrast, that of Mary of Hungary was humbler, "with little ceremony and no external procession or solemnity of pomp" ("cum paucis ceremoniis et nulla externae processionis aut pomparum solemnitate"). Mameranus states very clearly that the English queen's obsequies "were celebrated by King Philip [*in absentia*] … with the order in the processions almost the same next to those of the Emperor Charles" ("Exequiae autem Reginae per Regem Philippus … sunt celebratae ordine pompis ceremoniam fere eisdem, quibus deinde et Caroli Imperatoris"). And only the funeral of Mary Tudor, and not Mary of Hungary, receives a second report from the poet. Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, 198(r-v). See also, Peteghem, "Oraison", 267–268. The majority of Mameranus's writing, however, is devoted to the obsequies of Charles, to whom the poet had the most reason to be grateful.

30 "Primum prodiere ducenti pauperes pullo et lugubri uestitu cum tedis cereis ardentibus ex quibus bina dependebant utrimque depicta arma, Regis nempe et Reginae, bini et bini", Mameranus, *Funebrium*, fol. 210. They were paid 36 Stuferi for their attendance, as was customary. Quotes from the manuscript include the extensive addendum in the marginalia, which I have not found it necessary to delineate as such.

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one hundred, whereas her father, Henry VIII, had two hundred and fifty at his funeral. Richards has argued that since the number of attendees was an important measure of status, the fact that the queen had so few could "very easily be read as a slight".[31] In Brussels, not only did Mary have more paupers than at her own domestic ceremony, but the number was equal to those who attended the ceremony of Charles V just a week later.[32] As the cortege proceeded through the town it did not go as far as the fish market, where the emperor's ceremony would go, but took a shorter route to the cathedral.[33] Along the lengths of the streets and lining the pavements on either side were "all the artists of diverse colleges of the city, similarly with funeral torches, who were burdened with curved boards affixed from their side, and with the two decorated arms hanging down from those [boards]".[34] Following the paupers closely were the clergy of St. Gudula, the clergy of the royal court "in the solemn holy clothing of the choir", then fourteen abbots wearing their mitres followed by the Bishop of Arras, Antoine de Granville, "going in the habit of the pontificate" with the Abbot of Fleurbaix (*Flerbeckensem*) and then their respective officers and ministers.[35] Mameranus reports that these clerical mourners "were proceeding just as for the funeral processions of the Emperor", again indicating an equality between the two with particular regard to their status within the Catholic community.[36]

Representatives of the civic order followed next, "the nobles of the court and officers and the pensioners, whom they call of the Emperor and the King, from those only they who hold their assigned payments or provisions in the treasury of the Prince: but not those who hold the monasteries and other church goods in addition". Then came various magistrates in mixed ranks, mingled in order with the nobility, all attired in black mourning clothing:[37]

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31 Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 228–229.

32 Stephanie Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was': Ritual and Power in Charles V's 1558 Funeral Procession", *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 49 (1998): 68–93, at 74.

33 Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, 198.

34 "omnes vrbis diuersorum collegiorum artifices similiter cum funebribus facibus vncis qui plancis elatere erant affixis inpositi cumque armis binis pictis ex eis dependulis", Mameranus, *Funebrium*, 210.

35 "autem cum vestitu chorati sacro solenni", ibid., 210; "in habitu pontificati", Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, 198.

36 "qui precedebant sicut et in exequiis Caesaris", Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, 198.

37 "Post hos ex promiscuo et confuso ordine varii Ditionum et aulae nobiles ac officiarii pensionariique quos vocant Cesarei et Regei, iis nempe tantum qui pensiones suas seu prouisiones in aerarium Principis assignatas habent: non autem qui super monasteria et alia bona ecclesiastica", Mameranus, *Funebrium*, 210.

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> After these, came the noble servants of the Duke of Savoy, and after them, the servants of the King. Then the eminent nobles, counts, and dukes of the royal court. Then two *fetiales*, which they call heralds, without their ornate military cloaks.
>
> After whom came their commander, whom they call the King of Arms, or the golden fleece, who was carrying before him the King's crown hanging from a staff. After whom a horse followed covered all over in black velvet, with a lavish silk cushion border running from the head over the spine all the way to the end of the tail, with another lying across and slanting over the shoulders having been drawn in the shape of a cross. With another golden crown set in place of a saddle over the middle of the back of the horse.[38]

After this came the Duke of Savoy himself, "in place of the absent king", followed by knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece going two by two and wearing their ceremonial collars. There were also various attendants on each flank, "of each Duke and Ruler of Germany and Spain with their double-edged axes clothed in black mantels", mutually affirming by their presence both their own place among the civil elite of Europe and also Mary's.[39] The presence of the Order of the Golden Fleece in particular was a chivalric display that accorded Mary the same honour usually offered only to Habsburg rulers. Their dazzling collars must have been a stark contrast to the dark garments in the rest of the procession and, being worn by the preeminent nobles in the Empire, were symbols of imperial power and of dynasty. The knights were also "Christian crusaders" with a pledge to restore Catholicism who showed, in their respect and reverence for the queen, that she had been united with them in a joint cause and incorporated into a vision of continuous faith and service to God.[40]

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38 "Post hos, ibant nobiles pueri Ducis Sabaudiae et post eos, pueri Regei. Deinde generosi nobiles, comites et duces aul[a]e regi[a]e. Deinde duo fetiales quos heraldos vocant sine paludamentis or[natis]. / Post quos ipsorum ibat prefectus, quem Regem armorum vocant, aut aureum vellus qui coronam Regeam ex bacul[o] dependulam praeferebat. Post quem sequebatur equo holoserico nigro per totum stratus, cum largo sericio coxinio li[mbo] a capite super spinam dorsi vsque in fine caude deurre[nte] cum altero in transuersum et obliquum super armos in cr[ucis] formam deducto. Cum corona altera aurea medio equi dorso tanquam selle loco super inposita", ibid., 210(v).

39 "Post quem domini ordinis aurei velleris sequebant bini et bini a lateribus autem vtr[u]mque incedebant post se unicae singuli Ducis et Regei satellites Germani et Hispani cum suis bipennibus, pullis vestiti palliis", ibid., 210(v); *De Exequiis*, sig. Aiii.

40 Schrader, "Ritual and Power", 83–85.

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The crown on the horse, Mameranus writes in the first report, was that "of the defunct English Queen", and inside the cathedral, which was arrayed in black cloth, including all the seats, it was set upon the bier, whilst Philip's crown was advanced to the altar.[41] According to the Dillingen report this bier was "covered with cloth interwoven with gold", and was set under an impressive *chapelle ardente*.[42] The report describes the scene in splendid detail:

> At the four columns of the tabernacle four angels arose, holding four shields. The highest pinnacle, which was square, was fastened into three steps, having been covered with gilded cloth: but on top was finished in a circular form: where there was a grand Royal crown. The stations of candles, which were sticking up everywhere, were endless, some were arranged in the form of a cross, others in the form of the crown. Certainly they would have brought the greatest amazement to those who saw it. The cappella was covered round in dark cloth with a corner of the silk garment sticking out, to which was affixed insignias: which garments were not changed for the celebration of the Emperor's funeral, except for the insignia themselves.[43]

Charles's *chapelle ardente* would also have three additional crowns at the summit, representing his various dominions, but that so little else was changed between the two ceremonies was a definitive statement by Philip that his wife's funeral ranked next in importance, and was due much the same reverence as his father's. Before the audience three pontifical Masses were celebrated: the

41 "defunctae Reginae Angliae", Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, 198.

42 *De Exequiis*, sig. Aiii(v). There is a remarkably detailed contemporary diagram of the *chapelle ardente* as it was erected for Charles's ceremony, as well as the mourning outfits worn by attendees, and other details from his procession, which give a good indication of some of the items the sources for Mary's funeral describe, in *La magnifique et sumptueuse Pompe Funèbre faite aus Obseques et Funérailles du très grand et très victorieus Empereur Charles Cinquième, célébrées en la ville de Bruxelles le XXIX. jour du mois de Décembre M.D.LVIII. Par Philippes roy catholique d'Espaigne son fils* (Antwerp: 1559).

43 "Ad quatuor tabernaculi columnas surgebant quatuor angeli, quatuor scuta tenentes. Pinnaculum superius, quod quadratum erat, restringebatur in tres gradus, tela auro intertexta stratos: superius autem terminabatur in formam rotundam: vbi erat grande Regium diadema. Candelarum loca infinita erant: quae prominebant undiquaque, alia formam crucis, alia aut coronae exprimentia. Rem profectò quae maximum spectantibus afferent stuporem. Cappella circumcirca tecta erat atro panno cum extante angulo olosericae vestis: cui affixa erant insignia: quae nihil pro celebrando Imperatoris funere commutata est praeter ipsa insignia", *De Exequiis*, sigs. Aiii(v)–iv.

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first Mass of the Holy Spirit, spoken by the Abbot of Fleurbaix, the second of the Virgin Mary, given by the Abbot of Le Parc, and the third of the dead (or a Requiem Mass), completed by the Bishop of Arras. The Duke of Savoy and the knights offered burning candles before the suffragan Bishop of Arras, François Richardot, gave the sermon, which Mameranus reports he delivered "in the most elegant French language".[44]

3 The Sermon of François Richardot

Richardot's sermon was a remarkable tribute to the queen and was printed by Christopher Plantin in the following year alongside each of the sermons the preacher gave for Charles V and Mary of Hungary. In it, Richardot expounds on St. Paul's words in Romans 5:12: "by one man, sin entered into the world, and by sin, death", encouraging his attendees not to fear mortality, but to live a good and Christian life in preparation for their death and in the hope of salvation.[45] To demonstrate the combination of qualities that make up "Christian perfection", he writes, "I have chosen to touch briefly upon a few of [Mary's] great and heroic virtues, not so much to illustrate the memory of her name as to present to us another real example that may be imitated".[46] His discourse is structured ontologically, according to three areas of human perfection, Civil, Christian, and Celestial, that themselves correspond to the three births that humans experience—the first, "by which we are born men, a second by which we become Christians, and a third by which we seek to be celestial and deified".[47]

Each of these forms of perfection, Richardot writes, has its own subdivisions. Civil perfection entails prudence, fortitude, and continence. About the first, for example,

44 "in lingua galica elegantissima". Richardot also gave the funeral sermon for Charles V and Mary of Hungary, though only for Mary Tudor does Mameranus describe it as "most elegant". Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, 198(v).

45 "Per unum hominem, peccatum intrauit in mundum: & per peccatum, mors", Richardot, "Un autre sermon", sig. Eiii.

46 "J'ay deliberé, icy toucher briefuement, quelque chose de ses grandes & heroiques vertus: non tant pour illustrer la memoire de son nom, que pour proposer à nous, autre vraie matiere d'imitation", ibid., sig. Eiv(v).

47 "par laquelle nous naissons hommes: la seconde, par laquelle, nous deuenons Chrestiens: la tierce, par laquelle nous pretendons, d'estre celestes", ibid.

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> I will say boldly, that the fortunes and misfortunes of her life—the obstacles and tempests she overcame, the dangers and difficulties she endured—show clearly that she was guided, in all the actions of her life, by this virtue of Prudence.

Indeed there were so many potential disasters that she overcame in her life, he wrote, that "if we had a Homer, he would be able to write an Odyssey. And, in spite of this, amidst all these obstacles and owing to her prudence, she always steered her vessel in such a way as to avoid, in everything and in all circumstances, shipwreck".[48] Prudence was a virtue that English authors were also not hesitant to apply to Mary. John Proctor, for example, described her as possessed of an "incomparable wisdom", but a more common iconographical strategy was to credit Mary's survival to the hand of God.[49] As Cardinal Pole asserted in his inaugural speech to parliament on 27 November 1554,

> [s]ee how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her highness contrary to the expectation of man. That when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power prepared to destroy her, yet she bring a virgin, helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory over tyrants, which she was a 'virgin, helpless, naked, and unarmed', yet prevailed over tyranny, 'which is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodness and providence of God'.[50]

Richardot did not deny God's role, but for him Mary had more agency, and was anything but helpless. He continued:

> As for Fortitude, the second virtue of civil perfection, the long and oppressive martyrdom of her heart—which she had to endure for so long and with so many torments—the constancy and firmness she kept, and

48 "je diray hardiment, que les fortunes, & infortunes de sa vie: les trauerses & tempestes qu'elle a passées: les discrimes & difficultez qu'elle a supportez; monstrent clairement, qu'elle a esté guidée, en toutes les actions de sa vie, par ceste vertu de Prudence … Comme en effet, si nous voulons con siderer, le cours, de la vie de ceste vertueuse Princesse, lon trouueroit tant de descrimes, tant de desastres, tant de difficultez: que, si nous auions vn Homere, il en pourroit faire vne Odissée. Et toutesfois, parmy tous ces empeschemens, elle a, par sa prudence, toujours conduit le fil de son nauigage: de sorte, qu'elle a euité en tout & par tout, le naufrage", ibid., sig. Fii(v).

49 John Proctor, *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion* (London: 1554), sig. Gv.

50 John Elder, *The Copie of a Letter Sent in to Scotlande* (London: 1555), sig. Evi(r-v).

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> the patience she displayed, provide such proof of her magnanimity, that one could say that Nature, in this feminine body, had formed the heart of a Hercules.[51]

This account of Mary's fortitude, particularly the comparison to the Greek demigod Hercules, predominantly received during the Renaissance as the epitome of the *virtus heroica*, was an unusually virile and masculine image to be applied to a queen regnant, especially by a foreign observer.[52] For example, historians believe Habsburg observers in particular preferred to accentuate her femininity and piety in their iconography and printed literature, conceiving her as a devoted wife and consort subordinate to her husband and his Imperial ambitions, rather than as heroic in her own right.[53] Richardot deploys similar imagery later on in his sermon, but here, in correlating her behaviour with Herculean fortitude, Richardot provided a posthumous characterization of Mary that concurred more closely with an unlikely source: an image of her drawn by the domestic commentator Robert Wingfield, an East Anglian gentleman and staunch supporter of the regime. In his *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae*, written in 1554, soon after the queen's bloodless coup over the Duke of Northumberland in November of the preceding year and her triumphal progress into London and accession to the throne, he described her victory as being "more of Herculean than of womanly daring, since to claim and secure her hereditary right, the princess was being so bold as to tackle a powerful and well-prepared enemy". She did this all, he continued, "while she was entirely unprepared for warfare and had insignificant forces".[54] Throughout his work, Wingfield lavished praise upon the new queen and gave auspicious projections for her rule and the restoration of Catholicism, prompting Diarmaid MacCulloch in the introduction to his translation of the text to reflect on how such optimism

51 "Et qvant à la Force, deusiéme vertu, de la perfection ciuile: le long & angoisseus martire de son coeur, qu'elle à si long temps comporté, auec tant d'ennuis: la constance, & fermeté, qu'elle a gardées, & la patience, dont elle a vsé: donnent telle foy de sa magnanimité, que lon pourroit dire, que Nature, en ce corps feminin, auoit mis en forme, le coeur d'vn Hercules", ibid.

52 This was not, of course, the only way in which Hercules was received during the Renaissance, but clearly what Richardot is intending here by the juxtaposition of "feminine" and Herculean. A good account of the complexity surrounding Hercules' reception is given in Kathleen Riley, *The Reception and Performance of Euripides' Herakles: Reasoning Madness* (Oxford: 2008), ch. 3.

53 Redworth, "'Matters Impertinent to Women'": 598; López, "'Great Faith'", 133–135.

54 Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham", *Camden Fourth Series* 29 (1984): 252.

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was misplaced in light of Mary's subsequent difficulties and perceived failures. "At the time of her death in 1558", he writes, "it is difficult to regard Mary's reign as anything but a betrayal of its early promise".[55] But clearly, in casting her actions as a heroic struggle against continual torment, Richardot did not believe any such betrayal had taken place. For the final virtue of continence, Richardot wrote that "at all times this virtuous Princess showed how much the goodness of Continence can achieve in oneself, owing to divine grace, against all the forces of human affections, brutal passions, and tumultuous disturbances".[56]

Richardot then commended Mary for showing the Christian (theological) virtues of faith, hope, and charity that result from the grace of God, praising at length her religious life and her restoration of Catholicism. His depiction of her faith in particular provides a vivid image based on Hebrews 11:33–34:

> Considering the affairs she managed, she well needed a true and victorious faith in order to get out of the painful furnace of the many tribulations she endured, in order to subdue the fury of the lions which rose against her at the beginning of her reign, and in order to put to flight the gangs and forerunners of the antichrist that wanted to encroach on her Kingdom. And she needed it in order to take down, as David did, the strongest of the infidels, in order to restore this Kingdom and the honour of God as well as that of the Church, in order to subdue so many tumults, to appease so many seditions, and to put back above all things the Christian doctrine and discipline. She did this by the virtue of her faith, as did Joshua, Gideon, Barak, Samson, Daniel, and so many other great illustrious personages in the Holy Scriptures.[57]

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55 Ibid., 192.

56 "toutesfois, ceste vertuese Princess, a monstré en soy-mesmes, combien peut, par la diuine grace, le bien de la Continence, contre tous les effors, des humaines affections, des brutalles passions, & des tumultuaires perturbations", ibid., sig. Fiii.

57 "Consideré les affaires qu'elle a conduit, elle a eu bon besoin, d'vne vraie foy victorieuse; pour sortir de la dure fornaise, de tant de tribulations, qu'elle a portées, pour reprimer la fureur des lions, qui contre elle se leuerent du commencement de son regne, pour mettre en fuite les bandes & auantgardes de l'antichrist, qui se vouloient empieter en son Roiaume. Et pour, à l'exemple de Dauid, abattre le fort des infideles; & restituer ce Roiaume, l'honneur de Dieu, & de l'Eglise: pour dompter tant de tumultes; appaiser tant de seditions; & remettre sus, la doctrine & discipline Chrestienne. Ce qu'elle a fait, par la vertu de sa foy: comme feirent losue, Gedeon, Barac, Samson, Daniel, & tant d'autres grands personnages illustres, par les saintes Escritures", Richardot, "Un autre sermon", sig. Fiii(v).

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Presenting David as a model for Mary, as Mameranus had by dedicating his *Psalmi Davidis quinque* to her during his time in London, was a powerful appropriation of a figure more commonly associated with her father, Henry VIII.[58] It saw Mary's Catholic England as a new Israel, inhabited by God's chosen people. This worked against Protestant exiles such as John Knox who presented the queen as Pharaoh or the cursed Jezebel, implying instead that the country was the idolatrous and transgressing land of Jeroboam and Ahab.[59] In the Habsburg Empire it was used primarily in reference to Charles and the line of Catholic kings from which he was descended, as well as for Philip when he was not being compared to David's son, Solomon.[60] To Richardot and Mameranus, Mary had proven she was as worthy as any of those kings to carry such a mantle. In the preacher's eyes she could also embody these other revered, male biblical heroes, all of whom in some way defeated their own lions as the queen had defeated her own metaphorical one, and most of whom, apart from Daniel, were warriors. That he made such a comparison—both to these biblical heroes and the classical figure of Hercules in the earlier section of his sermon—suggests that Mary's association with martial figures, which was well-established domestically (if predominantly with female viragoes such as Judith, Esther, and Deborah), had a broader reach than has previously been thought, and was not necessarily suppressed entirely upon her marriage to her husband, even if it seemed natural to the royal couple themselves that, as a man, Philip would primarily take on the martial aspects of their joint representational strategy.[61] It also provides a stark and violent contrast to what John King and others have identified as the chief strategies of Marian iconographical representation, which was to figure the queen as a mild and merciful harbinger of religious correction, as the maid that sweeps away the Reformation abuses or the mother who draws her children back to the true Faith.[62] Richardot's Mary was unafraid of rigour, and he praised her for it openly:

> And so, if we are willing to represent before our eyes the zeal, the passion, the toils, the courage, the constancy which this virtuous Princess always displayed so as to ensure that the Name of God shone throughout

58 King, "King's Image", 78–92.

59 King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 220.

60 Parker, "Messianic Vision", 180–182, *passim*.

61 Whitelock, "Woman, Warrior, Queen?", 173–189, particularly 175–181; Duncan, *Mary I*, 107–108. See chapter 4 above for this delineation of roles at the ceremonial occasions during Philip's second visit.

62 King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 185; Thomas Betteridge, "Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule during the Reign of Mary Tudor", in *Old and New Perspectives*, 138–152.

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> her Kingdom, so that his holy Commandments were kept, so that the fear of his judgments remained, so that the meaning of his true word was soundly understood, so that Faith, Piety, Religion, and all that concerns the honour of his holy house was faithfully observed, so that the vices were punished and all excesses abolished, so that the virtues were honoured and all the honesties were set above all other things, then certainly all these things sufficiently testify to a true and ardent love which she always had for our Lord.[63]

Before arriving at the final area of human perfection, Philip receives a generous mention from Richardot, his role in Mary's life being fully acknowledged and celebrated, unlike in the London sermon. There, perhaps in response to public discontent with the Spanish consort or for fear of implying external interference during the queen's reign, the Bishop of Winchester downplayed the significance of the royal marriage, instead emphasising Mary's earlier, symbolic marriage to the realm and how "in token of faith and fidelity [she] did put a ring with a diamond upon her finger … [and] was never unmindful or uncareful of her promise to her realm".[64] In the first part of his sermon the Burgundian preacher describes Mary as a "Rose, which was born, [and] was brought up and grew on the royal and abundant Rosebush of England", constructing a bucolic metaphor for her union with her country, but later, expanding on this image he wrote that in the presence of her sun, "like the Rose in full bloom, she showed her extraordinary perfections".[65] What sun was this?

> I mean his Majesty the King, her husband. Just as the sun is the husband of nature—called spouse by the holy Scriptures—so is the husband the sun of the woman. I will say furthermore that, as JESUS CHRIST is the sun of His Church, so is the husband the sun of his wife. This, having been

63 "Povrtant, si nous voulons remettre deuant les yeus, le zelle, l'affection, les labeurs, le courage, la constance, que ceste vertueuse Princesse a tousiours monstré, pour faire, que en son Roiaume, le Nom de Dieu fust illustré, ses saints Commandemens gardez, la crainte de ses jugements maintenue: la teneur de sa veritable parole sainement entendeu: la Foy, la Pieté, la Religion, & tout ce que concerne l'honneur de sa sainte maison, y fut reueremment obserué, les vices chastiez, & tous abus abolis; les vertus honnorées, & toutes honnestés mises sus: certeinemnt, toutes ces choses, font suffisante foy, d'vne vraie & ardente charité, qu'elle a tousiours portées à nostre Seigneur", Richardot, "Un autre sermon", sig. Fiv(v).

64 Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 3.2:284; Colbert, "Funeral Sermon", 282–283.

65 "ceste Rose éleuée, creue, & naie au roial, & plantureus Rosier d'Angleterre", "comme la Rose bien fleurie, elle monstra ses rares perfections", Richardot, "Un Autre Sermon", sigs. Eiv(v), Fv.

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> very well understood by this virtuous princess, she always particularly honoured and respected the said Royal Majesty, holding him in the same esteem as our Church holds our Lord, her true and legitimate Spouse.[66]

Identifying Philip and Mary's spousal union with the union between Jesus and the Church in this way rhetorically sanctified the marriage, ratifying before listeners the queen's choice to look beyond the borders of her kingdom for a husband. It stood as part of a wider effort by Richardot to celebrate Mary's connections to Spain and the Empire. For example, in the opening of the sermon, when beginning his discussion of her Christian perfections, he spoke of how by the prudence of "Catherine of Castile her mother", she had been so well "instituted and fashioned" that her programme of education seemed to match what St. Jerome outlined to the Roman noblewoman Laeta (ep. CVIII) for the bringing up of her daughter.[67] Further, Mary drew her education "not from the muddy streams" of ignorant men, "but from the clear and beautiful fountain of her preceptor [Juan] Louis Vives, a very learned man who … has brought great honour to her letters and to her nation of Spain".[68] This was a celebration of Mary's foreign ties that circled around her Spanish husband, a figure with which some of her domestic supporters were uncomfortable. In their own images they occasionally presented a queen without any visible husband even after her marriage, counselling her, as Thomas Betteridge puts it, to "focus on events at home and not embark on foreign adventures".[69] Concluding his sermon, Richardot prayed that Mary would achieve the final stage of perfection before God. In this, he claimed, she will be assisted by the prayers of the Church, and "by the holy sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus-

66 "I'entens la Majesté du Roy, son mary. Comme le soleil, est mary de nature, appellé espous par les saintes Escritures: ainsi, le mary, est le soleil de la femme. Ie diray d'auantage: que, comme IESVS-CHRIST, est soleil de son Eglise; ainsi, le mary, est soleil de sa partie. Ce qu'aiant tresbien entendu, ceste vertueuse Princesse; a tousiours singulierement honoré, & respecté, ladite Majesté Roiale: l'aiant en mesme compte, que l'Eglise tient nostre Seigneur, son vray & legitime Espous", ibid., sig. Fv.

67 "par la prudence de treshaute Princesse, Madame Catherine de Castille sa mere, elle a esté si bien instituée, & façonnée, qu'il semble, que lon ait prins le formulaire de son education & institution, sus ce que Saint Hierosme escrit à la Sainte matrone Lete, pour l'institution de sa fille Marcelle", ibid, sig. Fii. Richardot seems to misidentify the daughter of Laeta as Marcelle, when in fact it was Paula.

68 "Laquelle erudition, elle puisa, non des bourbeus ruisseaus, des hommes lourdement ignorans: mais de la claire & belle fontaine de son precepteur Lois Viues, homme tresdocte: qui, à vray dire, a apporté tresgrand honneur aus lettres, & à sa nation d'Espagne", ibid.

69 Betteridge, "Maids and Wives", 151.

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Christ", the Mass, which Mameranus records was performed after Richardot had finished speaking. At last, all the mourners processed back towards the court.[70]

Mameranus himself, although he shows little emotion in what amounts largely to a factual report, lets some of his sentiments slip through within the corrections in his manuscripts. For example, Mary, he wrote, was the daughter of Henry VIII, and "from the legitimate wife Catherine", and would be succeeded by Elizabeth, whom he first writes was "of the same king", but, striking this through, leaves instead that she was "from the same father, but from the mother Anne Boleyn".[71] This was a subtle snub, imperceptible to many, but not to anyone who had read his *Gratulatorium*. When he published that poem in 1555 he had stated clearly that "Mary was created Queen, heir of the kingdom, legitimate and true, to whom nobody comes close: for there is nobody who is a close heir but she alone, who could legitimately hold a true and justified title, nor wear the crown of the kingdom". The marriage to Anne Boleyn had been the result of Henry "wallowing in his much disturbed mind". It was an "error" that led to "no limit on the number of wives he married", a "thirst of new love [that] was pressing hard continually", and children who had no legitimacy in comparison to Catherine's daughter.[72] But those were more certain times, times when Mameranus could look to Mary's ascension to the throne and her marriage to Philip as an example of providence. They were times when the restoration of Catholicism in England seemed assured, and when he could still hope, as he said then, "that mutual gratitude joins the newly-weds, and that they live their entire lives with auspicious omens always, grow old in your [i.e. God's] love, and take pleasure in perfect faith and a pure life".[73] By the end of 1558 those hopes had been shattered, though perhaps a residual loyalty to Mary, or at least a loyalty to her Catholic cause, left Mameranus hesitant to ascribe her Protestant successor legitimacy. In the end he opted to state simply that Elizabeth had been "pronounced and declared … in London as Queen of England".[74]

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70 "du saint sacrifice du corps & du sang de nostre Saigneur Iesus-christ", ibid., sig. Fv(v); Mameranus, *Funebrium*, 210(v).

71 "ex Catarina legitima coniuge", "eiusdem Regis", "ex eodem patre, sed ex Anna Bolinia matre", Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, 197(v).

72 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sigs. Bi(r-v), Biii.

73 Ibid, sigs. Ei(v)–ii.

74 "hora undecima ante meridiem pronunciata et declata publice [L]undini[?] in Reginam Angl[iam]", Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, sig. 197(v). Some of the views Mameranus expressed in his funeral report remained unchanged from his early ones, however. He still idealized Mary as a sacred woman and a noble queen. Also, he held Cardinal Pole in high regard, remarking how this "markedly learned man" ("uir insigniter doctus") fell "in fevers with

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Mameranus was perhaps a little generous to suggest Mary's funeral was almost as splendid as the emperor's. Certainly, Mary did not have a grand, twenty-four-foot long allegorical ship paraded through the streets, as the emperor did, nor did Philip himself attend her ceremony as he did his father's. But that her obsequies were celebrated at all amidst the political turmoil caused by the French invasion, the death of the governor, Mary of Hungary, and the death of the most powerful political figure in Europe, Charles, is a testament to the significance of her reign and the impact of her death abroad. That she was accorded the same catafalque and order of procession as the emperor must have accentuated the importance of the event in the eyes of all those who witnessed it. And it was not just in Brussels that Mary was mourned. The Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I ensured obsequies were held for her two days after those he gave for Charles in Augsburg, with Father Nicolas Lanoy of the Society of Jesus giving a funeral oration for Mary that was recorded by the counsellor Friderich Staphylus for a work he published with one of Mameranus's old associates, Philip Ulhart. In it, he described her as a "heroic virgin" in praise of whom "it is possible to capture nothing but purity, but holiness, [and] nothing but dignity", and observed that "her virtues ought to be imitated especially by Princes, but also men and women".[75] In Naples, three days after a funeral ceremony for Charles that was held on 24 February 1559, Mary was given a ceremony that "was celebrated in a similar and proper way". A "very rich curtain of gold cloth was made for her", while the Franciscan monk Frenceschino Visdomini di Ferrara "delighted his audience with his oration and graceful style, and made them sad because of the content of his speech".[76] In the beginning of March there was a ceremony held for the English queen alongside one for the emperor in Rome, and in the cathedral of Milan there was another in which she was accorded

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fresh grief" ("nouo maerore febribus") upon hearing of his queen's death. Speaking of them both, he wrote how, "leaving this world, they travel to the heavenly Father" ("hoc seculum relinquens, in caelestem migrant Patriam"), sigs. 197(v)–8.

75 "virginem heroicam", "nihil nisi castum, nisi sanctum, nihil nisi laude dignum deprehendi potest", "Virtutes eius maximè à Principibus tum uiris, tum foeminis imitandas", Friedrich Staphylus, *De exequiis Caroli v. Maximi, imperatoris, quas Ferdinandus Augustissimus imperator germonao fratri suo charissimo, Augustae Vindelicorum fecit fieri: Item de exequiis Mariae Ungariae & Mariae Angliae, reginarum, per eundem imperatorem nostrum, aliquot diebus post celebratis*. (Augsburg: 1559), sig. Fii(v).

76 "A 27 poi dell'ist esso mese col medesimo ordine furono degnamente celebrate l'esequie della Regina Maria d'Inghilterra moglie gia del Re Filippo, alla quale fu fatta una ricchissima cortina di tela d'oro a quale se l'oratione il Franceschino Vis domini di Ferara Frate minore di S. Francesco, il qual insiemedilettava per la materia della quale raggionava", Giovanni Antonio Summonte, *Dell'Historia della Cittá e Regno di Napoli*, Vol. 4 (Naples: 1643), 326.

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the same funeral trappings as the emperor, even sharing the same catafalque again, as in Brussels, but with the symbolic body, the coat of arms, and the gold brocades all changed accordingly.[77]

Back in London Mary's funeral had been somewhat restricted, since the Bishop of Winchester had to deliberately downplay the queen's relationship with her foreign husband and instead emphasise her spiritual marriage to the realm. It also betrayed an "anxiety over Mary's fame and its publication", and it was a "site of conflict" between the demise of the old regime and the ascendency of her successor, Elizabeth.[78] Viewed domestically, it is still the case that the Protestant propaganda printed in the wake of Mary's death gets the better of most narratives. While historians may now disagree with John Knox's assessment of her as a "horrible monster Jezebel", the queen still is a "figure of opprobrium", her reputation assailed and comparatively undefended by the few primary sources that speak in her favour.[79] There are even some who agree with the Protestant charges that Mary's reign was a failure, at least in terms of how she represented herself. Accompanying the accession of Elizabeth is the familiar tale of the burgeoning of English nationhood, a success story directly contrasted with that which went before. As the late Kevin Sharpe concludes, Mary "did not only fail in selling herself as the champion of the English commonweal and nation; she allowed others to present her religion as un-English". Elizabeth, on the other hand, "succeeded—literally—spectacularly in the art of representation" because "she presented herself and was (and still is) perceived as the personification of England and Englishness".[80] But when viewed in an international context, without Englishness as a marker for success, it is possible to see Mary as remembered within the Habsburg heartlands as a heroic ruler

77 Antonio Guido, a "man of letters", pronounced the oration for Mary in Rome ("alla Regina poi fece l'oratione Antonio Guido anch'egli molto litteratò"), ibid.; *Essequie celebrate con solenne pompa nella chiesa del Duomo di Milano per la Caesarea Maestà di Carlo Quinto Imperatore Romano e per la Serenissima Regina Maria d'Inghilterra, nelle quali a pieno si descrive il catafalco con tutto l'apparato della Chiesa et insieme si fa mentione dei nomi di quelle persone honorate che a dette essequie furono presenti* (s.l.: 1559); Gasparo Bugati. *Historia Universale* [...] *dal principio del mondo fino all'anno 1569* (Milan: 1570), 1029. See the corresponding discussion in Minou Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy: The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration* (Farnham: 2014), 70. Unfortunately, these sources give few other details about the ceremonies, though they represent an important starting point for further research into Mary's legacy in an international context.

78 Colbert, "Funeral Sermon", 282–283, 292; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 230.

79 Knox, *First Blast*, 32. Whitelock notes the failure to rehabilitate Mary's reputation and attempts to do so herself in *Mary Tudor*, 307–310, quotation at 307, though is limited by the traditional scope of her source material.

80 Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 316, 480.

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modelled on Old Testament exemplars of kingship, as a ruler who blossomed through her union with a foreign prince, and her realm as a valiant ally in the fight to restore Catholicism. Philip marked her departure with great solemnity in Brussels, and the documents concerning this occasion provide a new insight into her legacy that needs to be included in our narratives of her reign, both in terms of its domestic achievements, and of how those achievements were perceived in her husband's Habsburg dominions overseas.

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Conclusion

This study has chosen to consider just one, arguably minor, portion of Mameranus's prodigious literary output—his work at the English court during a very specific period. And it has done so primarily to shine new light on the reign of Mary Tudor. But the poet's value stretches far beyond his association with England. There are events in his life and texts from his oeuvre that this study has considered only briefly, and others it has been forced to exclude altogether. Mameranus's early biographers and those more recent scholars who reference him in passing reveal, sometimes inadvertently, a number of potential avenues for fruitful exploration. For example, August von Druffel pointed out that the extensive catalogues that Mameranus wrote throughout his career such as the *Iter Caesaris*, *Catalogus expeditionis rebellium*, and *Catalogus omnium Generalium* provide a statistical account of the Schmalkaldic Wars, recording names, ranks, and numbers of Imperial and rebel soldiers that could be of use to military historians.[1] They are also an important first hand commentary on the political and diplomatic intricacies behind these various skirmishes, and a type of travel documentary, since the poet remarks on the geography, history, and lifestyles he encountered in places such as Brussels, Luxembourg, Liège, and Dinkelsbühl.[2] Didier even proposes that meteorologists might find the works useful for their extended observations on the weather.[3] The *Catalogus Familiae totius* contains not only a glamorised account of the trials and tribulations of Charles v, likening him to Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and other heroes of classical antiquity, and so could be useful for a study on the rhetoric of Imperial representation (as could a number of Mameranus's other volumes), they also contain a record of the members of his chapel in 1547 and 1548 that has proven valuable to a scholar of music and ceremony at the Habsburg court.[4]

As an assiduous editor of medieval and patristic works, Mameranus's writing is representative of the methodologies of textual criticism that developed during the Renaissance, and so is of interest to reception historians as well as

1 Druffel, *Des Viglius van Zwichem Tagebuch*, 12.

2 His writing on travel and his own experiences as a traveller have recently come to the attention of Scott Westrem in *Broader Horizons: A Study of Johannes Witte de Hese's Itinerarius and Medieval Travel Narratives* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2001), 53, 104.

3 Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 150–153.

4 Mary Tiffany Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles v: The Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion* (Rochester, N.Y.: 2012), 111.

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scholars of book history.[5] He also wrote extensively on numismatics and the morality of economics, not just in his petition to Philip and Mary, but in a separate treatise, *Liber de monetis*, bound with his own edition of Leonardo de Portis' *De re pecuniaria antiqua* (1551). These are unexplored sources for economic historians. Before entering court life Mameranus practised epigraphy, travelling across Spain to collect records of ancient inscriptions. Some of these are now recognised as the only extant documentation for scholars of classical antiquity.[6] Thanks to his own time at the Collegium Trilingue of the University of Louvain, his close association with the rector, Rutgerus Rescius, and his avid interest in the instruction of youths and the programmatic reform of the education system, Mameranus is also a remarkable source for those interested in humanist pedagogy and the values at the heart of Renaissance educational institutions.[7] One might also use Mameranus and his brother, Heinrich, as a case study into the vicissitudes of the early modern printing industry and the relationship between author and printer.[8] Or he could be used as a case study of the relationship between patron and client, since he had a turbulent but lucrative and long-lasting association with the most powerful mercantile family in Europe, the Fuggers, that could be used to gauge why such relationships broke down and how they might be repaired.[9] Such extensive surveys are beyond the scope of this investigation, but they demonstrate the potential that Mameranus and his writings hold for numerous disciplines, and reinforce what this study has held as its foundational belief: his current neglect is undeserved.

1 The Literature and Politics of Marian England

For an author who spent only three months in England, it is remarkable to find that Mameranus wrote about or passed an opinion on most of the major events in Mary's adult life and on many of the key aspects of her rule. From the various passages in his letters, drafts, and printed works that this study has considered, it would be possible to sketch a biography of the English queen, albeit a brief one, occasionally misinformed, and couched in language that heavily favoured

5 Müller, "Body of the Book", 42–43.

6 Jonathan Edmondson, Trinidad Nogales Basarrate, and Walter Trillmich, *Imagen y memoria: Monumentos funerarios con retratos en la Colonia Augusta Emerita* (Madrid: 2001), 172.

7 Vocht, "Students", 471–473.

8 Vekene, *Heinrich*.

9 Wilhelm Maasen, *Hans Jakob Fugger (1516–1575)* (Munich: 1922), 79–84; Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 78–82.

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a Habsburg perspective. The result would doubtless be something of a caricature, too. At the outset the reader would hear how a young princess "was for so many years destitute from all human advice, and from help, and power", left at the mercy of Henry's advisors, Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of Lincoln, who led their king into a new, unlawful marriage. Mary was left alone, "like a sparrow flying under an open roof", until God "restored her to her rightful place" as the "just and legitimate heir". During her youth England was rocked "by a domestic plague … with dreadful sedition … after the kingdom wholeheartedly moved away from the bond of the Holy Church into various sects". But by Mary's "very presence the famous statutes of the entire kingdom reflourished, and laws and faith returned". Then, she was "married to the brave Philip, Hero of illustrious Spain and the whole of Iberia", and as their kingdoms joined they would, he hoped, give birth to a son who would unite Europe under "one king, one law, and one faith".[10]

This is the burden of Mameranus's most widely circulated work, his *Gratulatorium*. It is a historical fallacy, an unabashed eulogy of Philip and Mary and their decisions as rulers. But unlike his earlier commentators, this study has found that Mameranus was more than just a voice for hire. Despite his verses being occasioned by the movements of the court, the power plays of his princes, and the interplay of Reformation currents, I believe it is unfair to view his writings as passively subscribing to the Imperial mindset. Rather than simply reflecting and affirming the political and religious ideas that it discusses, his work seeks to play a role in their construction, definition, and propagation.[11] And when viewed this way it becomes productive to ask of it the kind of questions that Greg Walker and James Simpson have asked, with diverging conclusions, about Henrician literature.[12] How did it react to the "assertive impulses" of political and religious change? What role could a psalm paraphrase, a fictional narrative, or a book dedication play in shaping political conversation? And how does this literature contribute to a wider understanding of the period?

However unrealistic his intentions might have been, when Mameranus composed the *Gratulatorium* he aimed to construct and solidify the idea of a dynastic alliance between Philip and Mary and a unification of their respective

10 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sigs. Aiv(v)–Cii.

11 I am leaning on Quentin Skinner's theories about political thought to validate this sentiment, as usefully summarized by James Tully in "The Pen Is a Mighty Sword: Quentin Skinner's Analysis of Politics", in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. James Tully (Princeton: 1988), 7–28.

12 Walker, *Tyranny*, 1–4, 414–432; James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution: The Oxford English Literary History*, vol. 2 (Oxford: 2002), 1–6.

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polities. He revealed their joint lineage and proposed speeches demonstrating a positive political relationship between them, and in Cologne where the work was published this doubtless helped to shape public perceptions of the marriage. When he presented it to Philip and Mary in 1557, it also became a form of narrative counsel, a model he hoped they would follow. Reading the other parts of his gift to the royal couple in this way, it is possible to suggest that his more overtly religious works, the edition of Paschasius, his *Confessio delictorum*, and his *Oratio Dominica* were attempts to correct varying modes of devotion and theological differences within the Catholic community, and to bring a coherency to Philip and Mary's confessionalized states. *Beso Las Manos* might be taken constructively, too, as a proposal for cultural interaction in the political sphere of the court. Even the choice to write in Latin, a necessity for obvious reasons when composing for an international audience, is recognised in the field of neo-Latin literature as an instrument for homogenization between literate Catholic communities, and could therefore be seen as part of an attempt to establish political identity.[13] And when Mary died and Mameranus wrote her funeral report, he was building an idea—this time one which, as I have argued in the previous chapter, was a reflection of reality—that her reign was worthy of memorialization alongside those of two political cornerstones of the Catholic, Imperial state: Charles V and Mary of Hungary.

Kevin Sharpe writes that "by presenting her rule as Spanish and papist, [Mary] narrowed her support; and … handed to heretics and enemies an opportunity to present themselves as true subjects, true Christians, and true Englishmen and women".[14] And yet Mary determined her own success not by her nationalism, but by the restoration of her realm to a 'universal' Christendom, so whilst representing her rule as papist and Spanish may well have alienated the Protestant Englishmen who would later shape the history of her reign—men such as John Foxe, John Ponet, and John Knox—it widened her support amongst communities who were, at the time, of much greater importance to her. In the first instance, it connected her to the most powerful and expansive political regime in Europe, and in the second to an international Catholic Church whose members, in the eyes of the queen and her own domestic supporters, were 'true Christians' just like themselves.[15] One member of both of those communities was Mameranus, a respected poet who lent Mary his aid

13 Jason Harris, "Catholicism", in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, eds. Stefan Tilg and Sarah Knight (Oxford: 2015), 313–328.

14 Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 304–305.

15 Wizeman has made this point about religion, but it holds up in a political context as well. Wizeman, S.J., *Theology*, 2–3.

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by publicly celebrating her achievements, and the opinions he expressed speak invaluably as part of a rarely considered political conversation that counterbalances Sharpe's critical assessment of Mary's authority and image. The valuable work done by Streckfuss on the foreign reception and celebration of the reconciliation with Rome and the royal wedding suggest that there are many more voices like his waiting to be unearthed.[16]

It is also possible to set these questions in a longer chronological framework and make more provocative suggestions. In *Writing Under Tyranny*, Walker argues for a revolution in literary culture as it resisted the tyrannical government of Henry VIII:

> the *speculum principis*, the panegyric, and the exemplary narrative gave way to the satire, the lyric, and the biblical paraphrase as the most vital emerging literary forms, and the public petitionary stance characteristic of the late medieval poet and 'maker of books' was replaced by the more inward-looking, self-generating poses now seen as characteristic of 'Renaissance individualism'.[17]

But when Mameranus arrived in England he placed himself very publicly in a petitionary stance (both literally and as the "prostrate poet" in his dedication) and gave the queen a traditional *speculum principis* in the form of the biblical King David within his *Psalmi Davidis quinque*. His intention to set the psalms in this political tradition was confirmed by the accompanying "De officio principis", and also by his choice to avoid the typically isolated, lamenting voice of the Penitential Psalms (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142). He also gave her a panegyric by way of the work's dedication, and an exemplary narrative in the *Gratulatorium*, which presented an idealized portrayal of their initial meeting, wedding, and joint polity. Was Mameranus simply a late medieval poet out of touch with the literary currents around him? Perhaps just a foreign author unfamiliar with national peculiarities? Or could his be the literature of a humanist writing *after* tyranny? Perhaps one who, although he had not personally experienced the political pressures of Henry's rule, had heard all about those darker days and, as he wrote, the "persuasion and order of the stern King, who had been deceived by false doctrine", and an author who recognized under Mary an alleviation of this oppression.[18] Perhaps one who responded to his environment with more traditional and optimistic forms of counsel because, as he

16 Streckfuss, "Reconciliation with Rome"; "'Spes Maxima Nostra'".

17 Walker, *Tyranny*, 417.

18 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Biii.

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judged when he arrived in 1557, it was fitting to do so—because reminding Mary that "you cannot do whatever you want, you who are considered to be a great Prince" was a message to which he believed her to be amenable.[19]

Thinking about the longer political conversations that these types of texts were implicitly contributing to in the mid-Tudor period would go a long way to aid the current reassessment of Mary's 'Bloody' reputation and could significantly expand the field of Marian political literature. For example, the numerous works written by her supporters that discuss her queenship, works such as John Seton's *Panegyrici*, Hadrianus Junius's *Philippeis*, and Leonard Goreti's *Oratio*, might be understood as more than just vacuous praise and seen instead as the poetry of political engagement.[20] In its own right, however, the writing by Mameranus that is associated with England is a crucial addition to the Marian canon of political literature. It is defined by its public relationship to princely culture and imbued with a complex and expansive vision of the Tudor dynasty that is uninhibited by national boundaries or political impediments, bringing an optimistic scope to the reign and broadening its horizons significantly. It understood England as rising up from the political tyranny and religious turmoil of its past and entering a new era, and perhaps that is an opinion worth taking seriously.

2 1557: Mary's Neglected Year

Despite the elasticity with which Mameranus treats the truth in the eloquent dactylic hexameters of his poetry, the occasional nature of his verse should not confine it to the realm of ideologies. It also insists on correlation with the historical events of Mary's reign, providing grounds for more immediate conclusions about the period. By the very virtue of being in England during a year about which comparatively little is known, Mameranus is a witness whose voice cannot be ignored. This would be true even if poetry was the only thing he wrote. In combination with the blunt statements in his petition—a remarkable observation on the country that has been too often skipped over in favour of the Venetian ambassador's report—there are grounds for revising

19 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Cii.

20 John Seton, *Panegyrici in victoriam illustrissimae. D. Mariae, Angliae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Reginae, &c. Item in coronationem eiusdem sereniss. Reginae, congratulatio* (London: 1553); Junius, *Philippeis*; Leonard Goreti, *Oratio Leonhardi Goretii Equitis Poloni de matrimonio serenissimi ac potentissi, serenissimae potentissimaeque Dei gratia Regis ac Reginae Angliae, Hispaniae & Ad populum principesque Angliae* (London: 1554).

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our interpretation of Marian England during the last eighteen months of the reign. Further, when his writing is placed alongside other rarely heard voices, such as those of Jose de Courteville and Annibale Litolfi, there is enough evidence to include the visit of 1557 in studies of the Anglo-Spanish court, from which it is too often absent.[21] Images of London as a blossoming international hub emerge, with a king and queen at its centre comfortable in their own respective roles—Mary as a virile queen regnant, her husband uncrowned, but a martial leader nonetheless—and both capable of projecting a unified image of political power to their own people and the vibrant mix of international courtiers around them. Reports of their activities travelled far and wide. As this study has shown, however, there were residual tensions from the earlier royal visit of 1554 lurking beneath the surface that ought not to be swept aside. The decision to publish *Beso Las Manos* in particular, a poem that played on the cultural differences between Spaniards and their hosts, whilst at the same time giving playful instruction about courtly etiquette, would have found a market only where tensions already existed. Mameranus's reaction in his petition that the English drank too heavily and were unkind to foreigners reflects as much.

In his *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, Mameranus was full of hope for England, for the birth of a royal heir, and for the restoration of Catholic religion, but his petition reveals that much more still needed to be done, and in some areas, such as sermonizing, the country was apparently falling behind its neighbours. It was no coincidence that he described the revitalisation of Catholicism as something still awaiting completion in his published writing:

> when God has bestowed His favour, then all these things will return to their former state: and the faith, piety, and mutual delight of the brothers will flame up, and their fervid souls will breathe heavenly life, and they will send their ignited souls upwards to heaven … The common people will then again come to the entrances of the sacred church daily having been recalled more by their love of piety, in order to piously seek the kingdom of God, and justice, and before all labour, God, to whom is prayed first thing in the morning in the Lord's Church, at the rites of Holy Mass.[22]

21 Sarah Duncan, "'He to Be Intituled Kinge': King Philip of England and the Anglo-Spanish Court", in *The Man behind the Queen* (New York: 2014), 55–80.

22 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aii(v).

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The country was not there yet, but it was pregnant with opportunity even in the summer of 1557. And by reestablishing Catholicism as the nation's confession and marrying Philip, Mary had bought herself an ally in Mameranus who brought with him all manner of religious works, covering theology, spirituality, and confessional polemic. The ideas contained within them, products of the religious climate in Cologne, chimed harmoniously with those already in circulation among the Marian establishment, and further demonstrate that the sense of a unified Catholic cause crossed national boundaries, and could make unlikely allies out of its proponents.

Whatever concerns he had about the progress of religion in England, Mameranus neither doubted nor once faulted the queen herself. This is unsurprising coming from an author who was trying to earn her patronage, but it is significant that his efforts were aimed primarily at Mary, rather than Philip. He presented his books to both monarchs, but his *Psalmi Davidis quinque* was dedicated to Mary alone, and it was in the favour of the "most serene queen" and not the king that he asked to be held in his petition.[23] His *Gratulatorium* makes evident her value for Habsburg propaganda, but even within this poem her autonomy was already clearly established: "her own kingdom is restored to her … to [she] who conserved honour, and the sceptre and the sacred throne, and the diadems of the kingdom, and the supreme power of legitimate rule".[24] Mameranus deftly manipulated his account, and the expectations of the genre that it relied on, the epithalamium, to illustrate a relationship that was built on mutual respect, and above all, on the monarchs' respective images of sovereignty. This was something reflected in the poet's private correspondence, too, which suggests that it was not just with the aim of keeping the audiences of his public works happy that Mameranus recognised Mary's autonomy. He truly believed she possessed it. Evidently, her impact on her population and capacity as a ruler were still impressive up close in 1557, and it was seemingly without hesitation that Mameranus dedicated to her his advice originally intended for the male princes in Philip's council:[25]

23 Mameranus, "Petition 2, List of Books".

24 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Biv.

25 Interestingly, when in 1565 Mameranus reminded Margaret of Parma, then governor of the Netherlands, of some books he had presented to her, there was no advice booklet for princes, nor anything he had composed specifically for her, only "a little book containing the many and great wonders of a certain person's travels, and a little book concerning the past winter" ("libellum peregrinationum quarundam continentem mirabilia multa et magna, et libellum de hyeme praeterita"), Nicolaus Mameranus, "Ad Serenissimam Dominam Ducissam Gubernatricem", 1565, Archives Générales du Royaume (Bruxelles), Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, no. 401, fol. 57. These two books were probably: Johannes Witte

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> That famous maxim of Paul applies to the office of the wise king: anyone who does not hold exact concern for his own, denies the faith and Christ, and that person also is worse than any heathen … and who is pure and immaculate walks on the stony path of God, as priests declare in their sacred doctrine, here there will be a servant faithful to me, whom I will always love.[26]

To the poet, Mary was truly walking the "stony path", and was a demonstrable example to her contemporaries in Europe of what it meant to be a Christian prince, a fact he had pointed out early on to the Count of Schwarzburg.[27] Certainly she was no pawn to the ambitions of her husband, at least in his eyes.[28]

Ultimately, Mameranus believed that Mary's union with Philip brought about an opportunity for renewed prosperity between England and the Netherlands and an alliance that could provide not only military security but also great financial and welfare benefits if, as his petition suggested, the two nations were able to centralise their currencies and remove taxation on trade.[29] However, this ambition for improved Anglo-Flemish relations was to be disappointed, since during the following decade Elizabeth and Margaret of Parma, successor to Mary of Hungary as governor of the Netherlands, entered a bitter trade war in late 1564, while English relations with Philip and the Spanish Habsburgs deteriorated rapidly. England was to become isolated from the poet's world under Elizabeth, something he attempted to repair by presenting a poem to the representatives of each ruler at Bruges in 1565 where delicate negotiations were taking place, hoping to aid an "agreement on both sides between the businesses and merchandises of the traders, commissioners, and ambassadors".[30] In his typically eloquent way he implored them with flattery, speaking of themes grander than the occasion:

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de Hese, *Peregrinatio* (Antwerp: 1565); Nicolaus Mameranus, *De Hieme Anni 1564* (s.l.: s.d.), The latter is now lost but cited in Sweerts, *Athenae Belgicae*, 579.

26 The passage is 1 Timothy 5:8, "si quis autem suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet fidem negavit et est infideli deterior" (but if any man have not care of his own and especially of those of his house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel). Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sigs. Ci(v)–ii.

27 Mameranus, "Epistolae", 415–418.

28 This is something still suggested by Elizabethan historians looking back on Mary's reign. Lisa Hilton, *Elizabeth 1: Renaissance Prince: A Biography* (London: 2014), 140–141; Guy, *Forgotten Years*, 10. It is even still suggested occasionally by some Marian biographers, particularly when discussing the later years of her reign, due to a heavy reliance on the unflattering reports of the French ambassador. Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 288.

29 Mameranus, "Petition 1", 34.

30 Nicolaus Mameranus, "Ad Illustres et Generosos, Doctrina et Prudentia Excellentes, Claris-

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> You English, having been called heavenly as though angels of Olympus, is it possible that a heavenly soul loves any quarrels? Or that an angel could be desirous of dispute, a lover of discord? Therefore an Englishman by this sound reason neither can be desirous of dispute, nor to scatter the seeds of quarrel.[31]
>
> […]
>
> O now destroy the obstacles! May Concord call us back to unity and strike up one sacred, stable, and inviolable alliance, and may their privileges always remain firm and for each and may they be guarded safely through the eternal years.[32]

But these words, the last Mameranus ever wrote about England, were to fall on deaf ears. As the new reign advanced, with Protestant unrest building in the Netherlands, with the English queen remaining obdurate to Philip's advances for her hand in marriage and also to any reconciliation with the Netherlands, and with her eventual excommunication by Pope Pius V in 1570, the poet's hope for a re-unified, Catholic western Christendom died. Really, it had died with Mary, his "most noble and sacred female Queen", on 17 November 1558.[33]

3 Catholic Counsel in the Mid-Century

At the beginning of his biography, Didier wrote that "with regard to [Mameranus's] mentality, he stood on the ground of the older humanists, yet his

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simosque Viros, Serenissimi Regis Hispaniarum et Serenissimae Reginae Angliae apud Brugas Flandriae in Tractatione Concordiae Utrimque Inter Mercatorum Negociationes Ac Mercimonia, Commissarios et Legatos", Archives Générales du Royaume (Bruxelles), Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, no. 401. fols. 61–62(v), repr. Roger Desmed, "Quatre poèmes latins inédits de Nicolas Mameranus", *Latomus* 31, no. 1 (1972): 195–199.

31 "Angli vos dicti celsi velut angeli Olympi, / Nunquid amat lites caelestis spiritus ullas? / Angelus aut rixae est cupidus, discordiae amator? / Quare rixarum, salua hac ratione, nec Anglus / Esse potest cupidus, nec spargere semina litis", Mameranus, "Negotiationes Ac Mercimonia", lines 87–91.

32 "Rumpite ô ergo moras; reuocet Concordia in unum / Et feriat sanctum, stabile, inuiolabile foedus, / Firmaque permaneant sua priuilegia cuique / Semper et aeternos seruentur salua per annos", ibid., lines 142–145, see Desmed, "Quatre poèmes", 199.

33 This was originally just "queen", but, perhaps thinking back on his time in the country, he struck it through and replaced it with this more suitable memorialization. Mameranus, *Solemnitas*, 197(v).

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activity fell in the time of the younger reformers and the religious wars".[34] When he looked at England, the poet saw it refracted through the prism of its violent past and the Catholic heroes who once inhabited it, a country where John Fisher and Thomas More, those "distinguished, learned and revered men", had "suddenly opposed" and "refuted" the "shameful deed and sin" of their time.[35] Mameranus, a generation later, considered himself as a protagonist in that same struggle. On his literary style there is no greater influence than Virgil, but Erasmus follows closely, and nowhere is this more evident than in his outlook as a counsellor.[36] Mameranus worked to the Erasmian model of good counsel, the kind advocated by Morus in Book One of More's *Utopia*, by Erasmus himself in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, and by Antonio de Guevara in *Relox de principes*. He securely emphasised the correlation between the personal virtue and piety of the prince and the health of the commonwealth, promoting his own role as a statesman who could educate the prince in the godly behaviour necessary for good governance. His instruments in this *vita activa* were the *speculum principis*, the panegyric, and the exemplary narrative, instruments adapted by an older generation of scholars to the requirements of humanist counsel at the turn of the century. Using this tried and trusted tradition, Mameranus sought preferment at the courts of Charles V, Mary of Hungary, Maximillian II, Philip II, and Mary I, and this is a striking reminder of the endurance of polities where such counsel could still be performed.

But that older generation had not been forced to contend with a concept of godliness that in the post-Tridentine Reformation and Counter-Reformation struggles had become confessionalized beyond reconciliation. In this new era

34 "Hinsichtlich seiner Geistesrichtung stand er auf dem Boden der ältern Humanisten, obgleichseine Tätigkeit in die Zeit der jüngern Himmelsstürmer und der Religionskämpfe fällt". The word *Himmelsstürmer* translates literally to "heaven-striker", and occasionally to "idealist", though in the context I believe "reformer" is appropriate. Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 2.

35 Mameranus, *Gratulatorium*, sig. Bii.

36 His "Epithalamium" for Mary and Philip in the *Gratulatorium* is modelled intimately on the *Epithalamium Petri Aegidii* (1524). After Erasmus composed a short epic "On the feast of Easter and on the triumphant procession of the risen Christ and on his descent into hell" in 1499 in imitation of Macario Muzio's *De triumpho Christi* published that year in Venice, Mameranus just over half a century later edited his own edition of Muzio's work, and placed alongside it another poem by Hermann von dem Busche, a close friend and publisher of Erasmus; and, of course, in his younger years Mameranus had received his education at the very institute that Erasmus founded, the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain. Macario Muzio and Hermann von dem Busche, *Triumphus Christi ... Item de vita, miraculis & passione Christi*, ed. Nicolaus Mameranus (Cologne: 1550).

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'godliness' was an inherently divisive issue, and so consequently was a counsellor's relationship with Scripture. Mameranus claimed of his translation style in the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* that

> it was not pleasing but to render the sacred songs of the divine prophet David in the following manner: not to wander beyond limits, nor beyond the boundaries: nor to gather various thoughts simultaneously to this place. And it did not please to place eloquent words, as is my desired manner, into old speech. But I have drawn words into my verse in such a way than an old and unadorned translation could bear.[37]

This is an explicit self-suppression of his authorial role, a statement that the Word of God was to remain unadulterated, and that poets were not to "wander" beyond their appropriate limits and become interpreters. It was characteristic of what Thomas Betteridge suggests was the Marian tendency to withdraw from the "convoluted inquisitorial hermeneutic of the Henrician court" and reject its emphasis "upon the self, writer and reader, as the centre and producer of meaning"; but it was also characteristic of a much wider debate to which Mameranus was integral—the Catholic emphasis on the social and institutional (i.e. ecclesiastical) authority of textual interpretation in reaction to the reformers' call for *sola scriptura* interpreted by individual conscience.[38] And this corresponds with Mameranus's petition to Philip and Mary in which he stated the need for the clergy to deliver more sermons in the vernacular, "so that the rude people do not remain ignorant of the word of the Lord", and its interpretation could be mediated by the Church.[39]

But the original compositions that Mameranus placed within the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* (such as "De officio principis", "De vitiis aulae", and the dedication to Mary) explicitly set the biblical passages in a fresh context: in a political sphere aimed at guiding the queen and constructing an image of her queenship. Somewhat paradoxically these shorter, original poems allowed Mameranus to confirm the psalms as a public form of divine counsel, and yet also provide his own framework for reading them—a demonstration of his vatic ability and an individual, confessional interpretation of Scripture. The

37 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aiii(v).

38 Betteridge, *Literature and Politics*, 135, 141. Really, it is characteristic of a much wider debate throughout Europe, a good overview of which is given in Peter Harrison, "Philosophy and the Crisis of Religion", in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: 2007), 234–249, at 239–243.

39 "ne maneat nescius rudis populus verbi domini" Mameranus, "Petition 1", 38.

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need to use particular understandings of Scripture to direct the politics of contemporary society remained as strong as it always had been, and conservative humanists retained their prerogative to apply its passages directly to monarchs as a form of advice, just as their predecessors had. As Mameranus wrote,

> you who wishes well for the King and are his most intimate friend, you, Councillor, must always intrepidly reproach him for any error, vice, or sin, if you wish to perform your charge well, and to be considered honest before God and your fellow-man and worthy of the name just.[40]

Even though Erasmus was becoming an increasingly suspect figure, and his works were eventually condemned in 1559 by the papal *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Index of prohibited books), his model of counsel remained a dominant strand of political engagement, particularly within princely polities.[41] His chief plea to rulers had been to "remember you are a *Christian* prince!"[42] Now, in a Europe riven by religious uncertainty, Mameranus still implored his princes that

> on the ground, and in the dirt, prostrated on bare knee, with a humble, pious, and burning heart, and with folded hands, you must worship the divine God of heaven, O! mortal man, perishable dust and earth: fearfully, with trepidation, work at your salvation, King, Prince, and Greatest Emperor of the world.[43]

But where Erasmus had once exhorted them "not [to] think that Christ is found in ceremonies, in doctrines kept after a fashion, and in constitutions of the church", Mameranus reminded princes of the role of the "holy brothers", of the Mass, and of "the power of the Holy Church".[44] He told them to frequent places of worship and begged them to remember Psalm 115, 18–19: "I shall give my thanks to the Lord in the presence of all the people, so that they may be seen by all".[45]

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40 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Ci(v).

41 This is something that Ronald Truman has also noticed within Spanish political literature during this period. Truman, *Spanish Treatises*, 377–380.

42 Erasmus, *Education*, 152.

43 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Ci(r-v).

44 Erasmus, *Education*, 153; Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Aii(r-v).

45 Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque*, sig. Ci.

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Mameranus's writings are evidence of a post-Reformation brand of conservative political engagement rarely acknowledged by historians. It was a brand of public petitionary counsel that sought direct intervention in the conduct of the monarch. Primarily it was aimed at the reform and renewal of Christianity. But it was also a brand ready to heat and hammer Erasmian, pre-Reformation expressions of Christian princeship into the steel of stringently Catholic political humanism, a counsel with rhetoric incisive enough to combat those reformers who were increasingly turning to republican values and civil government to define and alter their polities.[46] His was a brand that looked to the future, armed with the literary tools of the previous generation, determined to reforge Christendom as Catholic and Imperial.

46 Skinner, *Visions*, vol. 2, ch. 14.

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Appendices

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APPENDIX 1

Beso Las Manos

Translated by Matthew Tibble and Gary Vos

1 Introduction

Beso Las Manos (I kiss your hands) is the most enduring of Mameranus's compositions, one of only a handful to have been reprinted after his death. It is a work of cultural satire that simultaneously reveals the poet's biting wit and his mastery of the Latin tongue. Like most of his poems, it is composed in heroic verse (dactylic hexameter), deftly manipulating its title phrase to fit the correct meter. When read most straightforwardly, the poem mocks Spanish etiquette and its obsequious gestures, something Mameranus doubtless had a keen experience of from his position at the heart of the Imperial court. But as much as the work entertains, it also educates, and from the piece it is possible to pick up an understanding of courtly mannerisms in the 16th century—not just Spanish, but of other nationalities also—and to learn how *beso las manos* was used and responded to. The poem is also an insight into the opinions of its author about himself, his future career prospects, and the fortunes of laureate poets during an era of much proliferation in the Holy Roman Empire. Its two distinct versions straddle a unique turning point in his life: the award of his own laurels by Charles V on 25 October 1555. There are six known editions of the poem:

10. *Carmen de Bezo las Manos*. Cologne: Henricus Artopaeus and Heinrich Mameranus[?], 1550. Lost.
References: [not catalogued].

10.1. *Beso las manos. Et Point, dictionis Gallicae usus. Cum carmine de leone et asino. Nicolao Mamerano Poete Laureato Autore*. s.l.: s.n., s.d. [c. 1555]. 8°, Col: A^8, fols. [8].
Copies:
- Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels, Shelfmark: II 16.379 A (RP)
- Bibliothèque nationale, Luxembourg, Shelfmark: A.L./Mam. 10 (Dewey code 871.04).

References: [not catalogued].

10.2. *Beso Las Manos et Point Dictionis Gallicae vsvs. Cvm Carmine de Leone et Asino. Londini Thomas Marshus excudebat. 1157*. London: Marshe, 1557. 4°, Col: $[A^4]$ B^2, fols. [6].

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Copies:
– King's College Library, Cambridge, Shelfmark: M.58.37
– Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Special Collections, Shelfmark: THYSPF 186

References: USTC 516043.

10.3. *Beso las manos clausula quid significet apud Hispanos ad N. Amicum*. s.l.: s.n., s.d. [c. 1600]. Broadside, Col: [A]^{1}, fols. [1].

Copies:
– Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, Rare Books, Broadsides, Shelfmark: B.60.1

References: USTC 514844.

10.4. *Beso las manos, Clausula, quid significet apud hispanos, ad N. Amicvm*. s.l.: s.n., s.d. 4°, Col: A^{4} (A4v blank), fols. [4].

Copies:
– Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig, Special Collections, Shelfmark: Poet.lat.rec.173(K)4.

References: [not catalogued].

10.5. *Beso las manos, clausula, quid significet apud Hispanos, ad N. amicum. M.DC.XI*. S.l.: s.d., 1611. 4°, Col: A^{4} (A4v blank), fols. [4].

Copies:
– Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Shelfmark: YC-4457
– Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Shelfmark: 79.Q.133
– Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: 899936 Res/4 P.o.lat. 742,1

References: [not catalogued].

An edition printed in 1550 [no. 10] is recorded in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, which Didier and Warner, among others, have cited to indicate the probable existence of such a text.[1] Any originals are, unfortunately, now lost. Earlier evidence for the existence of a 1550 Cologne edition is found in Franciscus Sweertius's *Athenae Belgicae* (1628). It describes a "*Carmen De bezo las Manos*, Coloniae, typis Henrici Artopaei, 1550", independently corroborating existing evidence of the date and place of publication of this first edition.[2]

Warner, citing the editors of the *Bibliographie Luxembourgeoise*, suggests that the subsequent edition [no. 10.1], of which two identical copies are found in the Royal Library of Belgium and the National Library of Luxembourg, are

1 Catalogued in Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2:914; Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 288, n. 1; Warner, "Gift of Books", 347, n. 16.

2 Sweerts, *Athenae Belgicae*, 579.

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from ca. 1550.[3] Considering that Mameranus refers to himself as "*poete* [*poeta*] *laureato*" on the title page, it would seem likely that in fact this edition was printed after his laureation on 25 October 1555.[4] There is, however, no date, place of publication, nor printer indicated anywhere in the extant copies.[5] This edition [no. 10.1] is identical in content, apart from the title page, to the Thomas Marshe London edition of 1557 [no. 10.2]. Both include the poem "De Leone et Asino" (Concerning a lion and an ass), and a poem on the French word "Point".

The Marshe edition [no. 10.2] fails to indicate that Mameranus is the author on the title page, nor does it display his title of poet laureate anywhere. This is unlike both other Marshe texts by Mameranus, *Psalmi Davidis quinque* and *Oratio Dominica*, which note his name and title boldly, and also unlike the majority of works he printed after his laureation. There is also an error to the date on the title page ("1157"), though presumably this is just a mistake by the typesetter, intended, of course, as 1557.

The following three editions of *Beso Las Manos* [nos. 10.3, 10.4, and 10.5] contain only the poem indicated in their title. Although their format varies, the text of all three is identical, though different to the *Beso Las Manos* contained within the laureate [no. 10.1] and the Marshe [no. 10.2] editions, which, as mentioned, are identical to each other. The only firm date known for these editions is no. 10.5, indicated on the title page to be 1611.

Across all editions, then, there are two extant versions of the poem: A) found in editions 10.1 and 10.2; and B) found in editions 10.3, 10.4, and 10.5. I suggest that these later editions were in fact a reprinting of the now lost 1550 Cologne version of the poem [no. 10]. This conclusion is made from internal evidence. In version B, Mameranus complains bitterly about the poor fortune of true poets, whom no one is willing to patronize, and despairs that in his time the laureate crown has fallen from its once noble status due to the ignominy and disrepute of its current holders. Such sentiment would be appropriate for a poet who had not yet been crowned poet laureate, thus suggesting that version B was composed prior to 22 October 1555. In all extant editions of version B,

3 Warner, "Gift of Books", 349, n. 16; Martin Blum and Carlo Hury, eds., *Bibliographie luxembourgeoise, ou, Catalogue raisonné de tous les ouvrages ou travaux littéraires publiés par des Luxembourgeois ou dans le Grand-duché de Luxembourg*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Munich: 1981), 11, n. 10.

4 This is also the analysis of Vannérus, "Nicolas Mameranus", 318.

5 The only identifying mark is what could be a colophon on the title-page and, in the copy in the National Library of Luxembourg, a curious handwritten note in Italian, "Stampato alla Città che io io" (printed in the city that I am [from]). The copy in the Royal Library of Belgium has a note in French on the inside of the front cover, "Ce petit poème singulier a été copié à Cologne, typis Henr. Artopaeis, 1550 …" (This small singular poem was copied in Cologne, typis Henr. Artopaei, 1550 …).

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there is a small addition to the title. After, "the phrase *Beso Las Manos*, what it means to the Spanish", the author has written "ad N. Amicvm", likely meaning "to Nicolaus's friend". In this version also, the poem finishes with "Mameranus ludebat" (Mameranus was playing) to make it clear that at least parts of the poem should not be taken at face value. These small differences further suggest that the version B) found in editions 10.3, 10.4, and 10.5, were reproductions of the Cologne 1550 edition [no. 10], because Mameranus was known to be writing witty 'jests' during this time such as the *Dictiones Quae Ab C Et P Incipiunt*, in which he includes his own composition, "Venatorius lusus" (The hunter's game) and a humorous poem by Johannes Leo Placentius (ca. 1500–1548?) "Porcorum pugna" (The battle of pigs). Each poem is written entirely with words beginning with the same letter, "c" and "p", respectively.[6]

Which poem did Mary receive? Probably version A, edition no. 10.2, the Thomas Marshe London edition of 1557. Mameranus had already acquired all three of the works he was to have printed in England, and evidently presented two of them to Mary (*Psalmi Davidis quinque* and *Oratio Dominica*).[7] It seems unlikely that he would present the queen with an outdated copy of a work he had decided was important enough to have reprinted in England. As further discussed in chapter one, the removal of passages from version A that would have offended a royal patron also supports this conclusion.

The following translation is based upon the Thomas Marshe edition (no. 10.2), which is version A. The pagination follows the Marshe (no. 10.2) edition. Following the title page (sig. Ai), passages that are in **boldface** are exclusive to version A. Passages in ⟨chevrons⟩ are exclusive to version B. Where we believe that the typesetter has made a mistake, the suggested correction is placed in [square brackets]. Mameranus renders some phrases from different countries that are equivalent or similar in meaning to *beso las manos* which, rather than attempt to translate into English, we have decided to retain in their original language and spelling. This allows the author's original use and understanding of the phrases to be retained and avoids the possibility of misrepresenting his interpretation of them. Also translated for the reader are the poems "Point" and "De Leone et Asino", as they are found in the Thomas Marshe (no. 10.2) edition.

6 Nicolaus Mameranus, *Dictiones Quae Ab C Et P Incipiunt* (Basil: 1550); Vannérus also suggests that this period was a particularly happy time for the poet when he was known to write more light-hearted material, "Nicolas Mameranus", 311.

7 Mameranus, "Petition 2, List of Books", 2.

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2 Text and Translation

Ai BESO LAS
MANOS
ET
POINT DICTIONIS
GALLICAE
VSUS.
CVM CARMINE DE
LEONE ET ASINO.

LONDINI
Thomas Marshus excudebat.
1157.

Ai(v) [*blank sig.*]

Aii CLAVSVLA
BESO LAS MANOS,
Quid significet apud Hispanos ⟨, AD N. AMICVM⟩.

Qvod cupis et rogitas te noscere, Beso Las Manos
Quid sit, velle quidem: quae sit reuerentia verbo
Tanta, & quam varium cunctos ducatur in vsum
Hispanos inter, quibus hoc ex tempore seruit,
Ad quaecunque volunt, dum inter versantur amicos:
Accipe, sum paucis tibi respondere paratus.
Omnia nam quaecunque velis, aut plurima saltem,
Vel quae testantur mentem gratam, atque benignam,
Officiumque animi promptum, simul esse memento.
Est bona namque dies: est nox bona, Beso Las Manos.
Est que bonus vesper: sero est ac mane bonumque:
Est salue atque vale, est magnas ago candide grates:
Est tibi propino seu praebibo, Beso Las Manos.
Est bene conueniat, seu proficiat tibi potus
Beso Las Manos: sed & est precor omnia fausta:
Est que salus tibi sit: Deus, est, precor adiuuet vt te:
Est precor omne bonum: precor vt sint omnia salua:
Est que suas illi dicas, quod Beso Las Manos.
Quod valet vt dicas, illi quod mitto salutem,

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"Beso Las Manos" and the uses of the French word "Point". With a poem concerning a lion and an Ass. Ai

London

Printed by Thomas Marshe.
1157

[*blank sig.*] Ai(v)

The Phrase *Beso Las Manos*, what it means to the Spanish ⟨, to N.['s] Friend⟩. Aii

You desire to know and ask again and again to learn what is *Beso Las Manos*: why there is such reverence for the phrase and how it came to be used with variety among all the Spanish, whom it has served from that time for whatever they wish, whilst conversing among friends. Listen, for I am prepared to answer you with a few words.

Remember that simultaneously it is for all things that you wish, or at least many, or that which testifies a grateful and favourable mind, and a ready kindness of spirit. *Beso Las Manos* is on the one hand good day: it is on the other good night. It is good evening: and later it is good morning: it is hello and goodbye, it is 'I'm honestly very grateful': it is 'I drink or I toast to you', *Beso Las Manos*. It is 'may your drink be agreeable', or 'may it be advantageous', *Beso Las Manos*: but it is also 'I pray for all good things': it is also 'to your health': it is 'I pray so that the Lord favours you': it is 'I pray for every good thing': 'I pray so that all is well': and when you say 'hello' to someone, that is *Beso Las Manos*. You might say it as

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Seu iubeo dicas, longum, recteque valere.
Est etenim valeas recte, longumque, diuque:
Est quoque Germanis, Gnadherr, quod dicitur, hoc est,
Praebibo, proficiat, bona sit tibi noxque, diesque,
Et salue atque vale, ingentes ago candide grates,
Aii(v) **Est etiam bous pais, quod Flandris semper in ore est.**
Est quod tam vario quoque dicunt significatu
Scholleben in terram Russeni ⟨Schollem bein Russeni in terram⟩ vertice proni.[8]
Prosperet vtque Deus tibi res, est Beso Las Manos,
gratus ades sed & est. Venisti gratus amice,
Et bene venisti: tibi sitque, est, gratia magna:
Me tibi commendo est: tua sum ad mandata paratus
Totus, & obsequium semper tibi debeo promptum.
Nam cum discedis, vel cum discedit amicus,
Pronus ad hanc normam fac dicas, Beso Las Manos,
Siue precare operi intentis, vt prosperet ipse,
Promoueatque Deus, faciant quem forte laborem,
Hac vna forma semper dic, Beso Las Manos.
Ad mensam seu conuiuis prandentibus ipsis,
Accedens, benedicere vis, dic, Beso Las Manos
Hincque recessurus, rursum dic Beso Las Manos.
In plateis aliquis si forte occurrit amicus,
In quocunque alioue loco, mox pronus aperto
Vertice, de vuestra merced, dic Beso Las Manos.
Ad quae responsum sic mox dabit ille vicissim,
Pronus & ipse quidem contra te, Beso Las Manos.
De vuestra merced, eadem tibi verba refundens.
Basiat atque aliquis pro Manos, forte crumenam
Improbus & quiuis quacunque ex gente prophanus,
Dum parat insidias loculis, nummisque repostis,
Seque eius lateri associat, quam proximus vt sit,
Quo non aduertat furtum, nec tendier ipsi
Insidias, dum importunus lateri assidet ille:
Idque adeo in templo, prece dum feruente parumper
Supplicat ad superos toto quis pectore diuos

8 The translators have not thought it necessary to reflect the variant spelling of *scholleben* and the altered word order of this line in their translation.

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a 'farewell', as 'I send a greeting to someone', or you might say it as 'I bid long and proper farewells'. And indeed you can say 'goodbye properly, at length, and from afar': it exists among the Germans too, '*Gnadherr*', it is said, meaning 'I toast', it is 'good day' and 'good night to you', and 'hello', and 'goodbye', 'I'm honestly very grateful', | **It even means '*bous pais*', which the Flandrians say all the time**. And it is also '*Schollebe*n', which the Russians also say with such great and varied significance, their heads bowed down to the ground. And that God might further things for you, is *Beso Las Manos*, but it is also 'you are welcome'. 'Friend, you have come a welcome guest': and it is 'may there be great gratitude to you': and it is 'I commend me to you': 'I am wholly at your command', and I always owe ready compliance to you. When you depart or a friend leaves, make sure that you speak bowed to this precept, *Beso Las Manos*, or if you turn your eyes upwards to pray for help with your work, so that God himself might further it and advance the labour they happen to be carrying out, always speak in this one same way, *Beso Las Manos*. Say it when approaching the table or to the dinner guests themselves when they are eating their midday meal—you want to bless them—*Beso Las Manos*, and when you are about to get up from the table, say *Beso Las Manos* again. And if by chance you should meet some friend in the street or in some other place, say, bowing down with your head uncovered '*de vuestra merced, Beso Las Manos*'. In turn, your friend will then give you his response to this in the following way: he will stand opposite you, bow his head, and say *Beso Las Manos*, pouring back these same words to you, *'De vuestra merced*'. And someone is perhaps kissing his wallet instead of hands, and some wicked or impious person from the crowd by whatever means, while he prepares snares against his pockets from hidden places, **and although the coins are pocketed away, he might join himself to his side, so that he is as close to him as is possible, so that he does not notice the theft nor that traps have been laid out for him, just as this rude fellow assails his side**: and in church, therefore, someone wholeheartedly intent on the gods, with fervent prayer for Aii(v)

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Aiii Intentus: domini pia vel dum concio verbi,
Missa vel auditur, vel sacro vespera cantu,
Atque Dei dulci resonat modulamine templum.
Et dare quis poterit pro carmine, Beso Las Manos.
Aut si dat munus pro carmine, & ipse Poeta
Beso Las Manos, poteritque referre vicissim.
Sic quoque pro dono, dare nil nisi Beso Las Manos,
Vel quiuis poterit, veteri de more recepto.
Pauci **etenim** ⟨enim⟩ praestant pro carmine dona Poetis,
⟨Inter Magnates celsos, Dominosque potentes, / Relligione sacri sint illi, siue prophani. / Nec pluris faciunt, quam gens ludaica porcum, / Permulti sacras cum fonte & Apolline Musas: / Aut quanti Arcadiae facimus pecuaria passim. / Nam Maecoenates, ut prisco tempore, vatum, / Et studiosorum fido de corde Patroni / Perpauci, ac mire sunt nostro tempore rari. / Saepe Gelotopius, stolidos qui extundere risus, / Et crassos potuit, fert aurea dona, coquusue / Sordidus, aut leno, fragrans aut Pharmacopola.⟩
Sed multi puras dant nil nisi Beso las Manos,
Sic crebro ⟨At solus⟩ dulci fert nil pro carmine, praeter
Beso Las Manos debetque hinc viuere Vates.
⟨Nam potius Bacchum & Cererem, grandesque culullos, / Atque magis pulchros gaudent curare caballos, / Quam studia & libros, quam carmina, qu[a]mque Poetas. / Stemmata non curent horum quoque cassa vicissim, / Et galeas & stirpis inania nomina, Vates.⟩
Saepe etiam in templo quis dicere, Beso las Manos
De vuestra **marced** [merced] ⟨merced⟩, adsurgens vertice prono,
Assolet, intenta voce ex pulmonis hiatu,
Vt resonet totum mox sub testudine templum,
Vidit formosas vbi forte intrare puellas,
Nobilitate quidem insignes ac stemmate claras.
Sisteret excello cum Christum vertice **templi** ⟨montis⟩
Daemon, & vt se praecipitem daret inde deorsum
Diceret, Angelicas ad calum nam adfore turmas.
Tunc tentatori Christum dixisse diablo,
Aiunt: descensum mihi quod Cacodaemon ab isto
Vertice commonstras modo, Senõr, Beso Las Manos:
Nanque bonas teneo per quas descendere possum
Scalas, quando volo, quare Cacodaemon abito.
Hinc ergo non esse nouum censere licebit,
Tempore quod prisco fuerit quoque Beso Las Manos
Externas inter gentes, vt cernis, in vsu.

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a short while prays for this: | while either a pious sermon on the Word of the Aiii
Lord or Mass is being heard, or the vesper with sacred chant, and the church is resonating with the sweet melody of God. Someone could in compensation for a poem give, *Beso Las Manos*, or if he is giving a gift instead of a poem, and even the Poet himself can reply with *Beso Las Manos* in turn. In this way also, in the place of a gift, anyone can give '*Beso Las Manos*' according to a recovered old custom. **Indeed** ⟨And indeed⟩ few give gifts to poets in return for a poem, ⟨, among high Magnates, and powerful Lords, those people are sacred on account of their religion, or profane. And most of them do not value the sacred Muses with the fountain and Apollo any higher than the Jewish people do a pig: or as much as we everywhere value the cattle of Arcadia. For Maecenases of bards, as in the old days, and Patrons of students, from their heart, are very rare and astonishingly are even rarer in our day. Often Gelotopius, who could produce dull and crass laughter, brings golden gifts or the dirty cook, or the stinking pimp, or the quack doctors.⟩ **but many men give nothing except for *Beso Las puras Manos***,[9] **thus often** ⟨but only⟩ the Bard carries off nothing for a pleasant poem, except for *Beso Las Manos*, and must live off this ⟨for they rather enjoy caring about Bacchus [wine] and Ceres [bread], and grand goblets, and more beautiful nags, than study and books, than poems, and Poets. Bards, on the contrary, do not care about their hollow garlands and helmets and the empty names of their stock⟩. Often someone in church is wont to say, '*Beso Las Manos De vuestra merced*', rising with a bowed head with the strained voice from a gaping lung, so that then he resounds throughout the whole of the church, underneath the roof, and by chance he sees the girls who are famed for their nobility and beautiful for their lineage enter.

When the Devil stood Christ on high, at the top of the **temple** ⟨mountain⟩, and he told Christ to throw himself headfirst downwards from there as there would be troops of Angels present at his descent.[10] Then, they say that, Christ said to his tempter, the Devil: 'Devil, you show which descent I should take from this high point, *Senõr, Beso Las Manos*: I have good ladders by which it is possible to descend, whenever I wish, for this reason, depart Devil!' Henceforth from here it will not be permitted to suppose it is new, because in ancient times it existed in use among foreign people, so that you see, *Beso Las Manos*.

9 'I kiss your pure hands'.

10 The Temptation of Christ, Matthew 4:1–11 and Luke 4:9–12.

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Explicat & paucis, haec clausula, plurima verbis,
Aiii(v) Beso Las Manos, quod basio & osculor ipsas
Prona mente manus est, saepe manusque, pedesque
Et chirothecas, & calceamenta pedumque,
Vt facit Haebraeae breuitas illa inclyta linguae.
⟨Quae fuit in terris prima, & quae erit vltima lingua. / Nam Deus hanc primum docuit, quem fecit Adamum. / Atque hac Iudicium fiet generale, soluto / Ordine naturae, & fixis elementa, polique / Motibus ipsa suis steterint renouanda per ignem. / Cum tellure noua tandem, cum venerit orbis / Vltimus ille dies, sublimis in aere Christus, / Iudicet ut cunctos viuos ac morte sepultos. / Quam post Iudicium linguam omnes deinde loquemur, / Christus in aeternum cum nostra duxerit aeuum, / Sedibus aethereis victuros: qua Deus ipse / Semper ad electos, omne estque vsurus in aeuum.⟩
Qua nulla in terris breuior, nec ditior vsquam:
Nulla est quae mentes pulset vibrantius ipsas
Altius aut penetret, vel in ipsas influat aures
Suauius, & dulci modulamine pectore mulceat:
Cui linguae adfinis, breuis est haec clausula multum
Beso Las Manos, in se quae plurima claudit
Significata simul, suaui modulamine ab ipsis
Prolata Hispanis, cunctas vt mulceat aures ⟨,
Imaque in officium penetrans praecordia tractet⟩.
Hoc vnum excipitur, ne cum deponitur alui
Importabile onus, quis dicat, Beso Las Manos.
Cum se incuruat anus, retro sibi sibilat anus,
Nec tunc quis dicit, mulier, tibi Beso Las Manos.
Iamque mihi forsan, quoque tu vis dicere grates,
Carmine quod dixi tibi, quid sit Beso Las Manos,
Quam varium Hispanis, multumque venerit in vsum,
Ergo modum edoctum quoque tu seruabis eundem,
Et nunc ad finem mihi succine, Beso Las Manos.
Nam praestare potes, Hispano more, canenti,
Hoc, si vis pro dono ac carmine, Beso Las Manos
Ac mihi si munus dederis, nil carmine praeter,
Vel certe reddam nil, praeter Beso Las Manos:
Nam dare non possunt, nisi talia dona Poetae.
Non tamen idcirco simuli sunt carmina dono,
A te, vel quouis alio redimenda poetae.
Non etenim vates possunt ex Beso Las Manos
Viuere, sed grati bene de candore Patroni.

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And this clause expresses in few words rather more, | *Beso Las Manos*, that Aiii(v)
I exchange kisses and the hands themselves with favourable mind, and often the hands, and the feet, and gloves, and the shoes of the feet, as that famous brevity of the Hebrew tongue does. ⟨What was and what will be the last language on earth. For God taught this to Adam first, whom he made. And the general Judgement will happen, once that order of nature has been undone, and the elements themselves, their movements fixed, will have stood firm to be renewed by fire. Finally, with the earth new, when the world the final day of earth shall have come, let exalted Christ in the sky judge that all are alive and buried in death. What language all of us will speak next, after Judgement, when Christ will have led to eternity, to reside in our heavenly homes: where God himself always is for the chosen ones and will associate with them for all time.⟩ For no language in the world is shorter nor more rich in any way, and nothing is able to pulsate in those minds more brilliantly nor penetrate those minds more deeply, or flow into those ears more sweetly, or strokes the heart with its gentle song. Related to this language is this short phrase, *Beso Las Manos*, which at the same time encapsulates it in so many meanings being promulgated by the Spanish people in pleasant song, so that it strokes every ear ⟨, and draws the inmost vitals to entering office⟩. **This one thing is the exception, so that an unsupportable burden is not placed on the stomach when someone says, *Beso Las Manos*. When an old woman bows, an old woman whispers back to herself and then someone does not say, 'woman, *Beso Las Manos* to you'.**

And now, perhaps, you might also wish to say thanks to me because I have explained to you in this poem, what *Beso Las Manos* means, how it has come into many and varied use among the Spanish, therefore you too shall maintain the same learned manner, and now, accompany me to the end, *'Beso Las Manos!'* For you can give this to the singer, in the Spanish manner, if you wish to give something in return for my gift and song, *Beso Las Manos*, if you will already have given me a gift, I will certainly give you nothing back, nothing except for a poem, nothing except *Beso Las Manos*: for Poets are not able to give anything except such gifts. However, poems on that account do not have to be compensated by a similar gift from your or indeed any other poet. Yet indeed bards are not able to live from *Beso Las Manos*, but from the good graces of a

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⟨Hinc sibi nec libros, vestes, chartasque parare,
Multaque praeterea, vitae quibus indiget vsus.⟩
Aiv Carmina Magnates oblectent: dona Poetas.
Tunc opportune, tunc suauiter inter vtrosque
Beso Las Manos, vltroque, citroque volabit.
Magnificis sint grata viris, illustribus atque
Carmina, perque vices sint horum dona Poetis,
Mutua delectet foueat sic gratia vtroque,
Tunc bene sub finem cum delectatus vterque
Ex dono fuerit, ⟨tu carmine, fuluo ego nummo, / Aut quouis alio, celebri sed munere, quod tu / Te dignum esse putes, digna haec ut carmina vate, / Iudice te fuerint, festiuiter inter vtrunque [vtrumque] / Et bene iucunde resonabit, BESO LAS MANOS.⟩ **resonabit Beso Las Manos.**

⟨Mameranus ludebat.⟩

AD LECTOREM.

Has dum scribebat Mameranus, Beso Las Manos,
Carmina post tergum subdola risit anus:
O, inquit, miseram inter tot quod Beso Las Manos,
basia non video qui mihi dare velit.

POINT DICTIONIS GALLICAE

vsus elegans et festiuus.

Paruula apud vafros est qu(a)edam dictio Gallos,
Multum diuersis persaepe accomoda rebus,
Quae perfestiuum, varium quoque suscipit vsum,
Diuersis aptata modis, verbisque loquendi,
Literulis quinis, Point, scripta haec scilicet extat.
Point habet innumerum variis quo seruiat vsum.
Haec est Point terrae bona consuetudo paternae.
Quaeras ex seruo, si Point, quod iussimus, egit:
Et quaeras claudus, si Point aduenerit ille.
Discite, oportet Point facere haec quaecunque potestis:
Nec quae audis, Point credere: nec Point dicere quae facis
Semper: sunt etenim, haec sapientis dogmata vere.
Aiv(v) Tu Point fecisti bene: sunt Point alta fluenta.
Dic mihi habes Point Virgilium, quem cernere possim?
Tu venies Point venatum cum Principe ceruos?

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kind Patron. ⟨For this reason not themselves able to furnish books, garments, and writing paper, and many things in addition, for which their livelihood needs the use.⟩

Let Magnates delight in poems, poets in gifts. Now advantageously, then Aiv
pleasantly *Beso Las Manos* will fly amongst both sides, from one side to another and all around. Let poems be pleasing to great and illustrious men, and let there in turn be gifts to their poets and let mutual gratitude delight and cherish either in this way: then, when at the end either party will have delighted in their gift, ⟨you with your song, I with my golden coin, or in whatever else, but celebrated gift, because you might believe yourself to be worthy, so that these songs will have been worthy of the bard, in your opinion, *Beso Las Manos* will resound gaily, agreeably, and pleasantly among us both.⟩ ***Beso Las Manos* will resound**.

⟨Mameranus was playing.⟩

To the Reader

Whilst Mameranus was writing these songs, *Beso Las Manos*, a sly hag laughed behind his back. O poor me, she said, among so many, *Beso Las Manos*, I do not see anyone who would wish to give kisses to me.

The Elegant and Festive Use of the French Saying *Point*.

The cunning French have this little saying, which is very suitable for different things: it has a very festive, and varied usage, being adapted to different modes and to the spoken word, it certainly stands out, *Point*, being written in just five letters.

Point has an unquantifiable usage with which it serves many purposes. This, *Point*, is a good custom of the paternal land. You might inquire from a servant, 'whether he has conducted *Point*', that which we have ordered: and you might inquire 'whether the cripple has arrived at *Point*'. Learn, it is fitting that you make all these things *Point* and that you not believe *Point* to be what you hear; nor to call *Point* what you always do: these are rightly the teachings of the wise.

You have done well, *Point*: *Point* are the deep rivers. Say to me, have you got Aiv(v)
Virgil *Point*, whom I might be able to see? Will you go, *Point*, hunting for deer

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Nec Point piscatum, ac salientes prendere pisces?
Hae sunt Point bellae quas cernis in aede puellae?
Sed sunt Point lepidae, nimis est vbi barbara tellus.
Vos Point fecistis rem sicut oportuit ipsam.
Haec ne ego Point faciam? Point, Point nunc haec facienda,
Sed quae conueniunt nostro magis apta labori.
Ne dicas Point quot nostrae sint pocula mensae,
Sed dic conuiuis numerum quod nescieris Point.
Adueniet point illa mihi charissima coniunx?
Vestitus pulcher, verum Point pulchra puella.
Haec point ille dedit? veniet point faemina pransum?
Est ne point liber, mihi quem pro pignore praestes?
Sed non point habeo. Dicas ne point ea patri.
Scis ne point quo se modo proripuere puellae,
Hic quas vidisti properato incedere gressu?
ne venias point ad dominum, quia dira minatur.
Prodit iamque foras, audis point qualia verba
Cum tonitru eructet, resonae quae fulmina vocis
Frangat. Non curo point talia fulmina dicis,
Verbera sed metuo, non point resonantia verba.
Ille facit point officium, quo stringitur ipsum.
Fungitur his Satanae officio, point munere Christi,
Quisquis bella gerit Praesul, Christique sacerdos:
Et Rex, si magna sine causa, surgit in arma,
Point bene pacifici titulum fert nomine Christi.
Euge placet point nunc ientacula sumere mecum?
Non equidem esurio point, Sed bibe pocula Bacchi.
Bi Nulla Point grauiter me nunc sitis arida vexat.
Heus rediit ne Point seruus? non Point mihi visus,
Hunc non Point viridi conspexi rure reuersum.
Hoc est Point bene compositum, nec Point bene factum.
Te rogo ne dicas Point turpia verba puellae.
Non est Point moris, nisi dicere semper honeste.
Dicas Point verbum de his, quae tibi multa locutus
Sum modo, nec metuas Point postea quicq[uid],
Dura Point vita est, vbi plena est aere crumena.
Sed misera illa, si habes Point vllo tempore nummos.
Dilige Point nummos, si vis Point ferre periclum.
Hoc aliud Point est, verum hoc Point, non venit ad point.
Punctus is est alius, verum his non punctus ad ipsum

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with the prince? And not *Point* fishing, and will you catch the leaping fish? Are these girls you see in the room not pretty, *Point*? But they are clever, *Point*, where the land is all too barbaric. You have made this *Point*, as befits the very matter. Should I not make these *Point*? *Point*, *Point* these must now be made, but those which are fitting are better suited to our work. You should not say *Point* as often as the cups on our table, but say *Point* to your guests because you will not know their number. *Point*, will that most beloved wife come to me? Beautiful clothes, but *Point* a beautiful girl. Has he given these *Point*? Will, *Point*, a woman come for dinner? Is not a book *Point*, which you give me in return for a guaranty? But I do not have *Point*. You may not say *Point* these things to a father. Do you not understand *Point* in which manner the girls fled away, those girls you saw coming in here with quickened step? You should not come *Point* to your lord, because he threatens with bad things. And he is coming out now, you hear what kind of words he belches out with thunderous noise, what lightning bolts of his resounding voice he crashes. You say I do not care *Point* for such lightning bolts, but I fear whippings, not *Point* his resounding tongue lashings. He who is doing his duty *Point*, by which the duty itself is diminished. He performs the duty of Satan with these, *Point* performs the service of Christ, whoever as Bishop and priest of Christ wages wars: and a king, if without great cause, rises to arms, *Point* well carries the banner in the name of Christ our peace bringer. Good! Does it please *Point* now to have breakfast with me? I am truly not hungry, *Point*. But drink from the cup of Bacchus.

Point, now no dry thirst severely troubles me. Hey! Does *Point* not return as Bi
slave? The *Point* did not appear to me, I did not *Point* see him returned to our green country. This is *Point* well composed, and not *Point* well made. I ask that you do not *Point* say the ugly words to a girl. *Point* is not of [good] custom, unless always to say honourably. You might say the word *Point* regarding these things, the many things I have just told you, and may you not *Point* fear anything afterwards, it is *Point* a hard life, when a purse is full with money. But miserable is that life, if you have coins *Point* at any time. *Point*, hold dear your coins, if you wish to *Point* to undergo danger.

That is another *Point*, truly that *Point*, comes not to *point*. This is another *point*, but the *point* in these matters does not square with our exact theme.

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Quadrat propositum. Sed me Point, Point bene pictor.
Non bene me pingit, saltem me iudice, pictor.
Vnum Point habeo, quod me point, ast ego spero,
Ex hoc Point tam difficili, quod non moriar Point.
Punctus inest vnus mihi, qui me pungit acute,
Spero tamen puncto me nunc hoc non moriturum.
Est quod me cruciat, noctesque dieque frequenter,
Quod tamen haud spero mihi causam in fata futurum.
Pene super Point est sonet vt mox quattuor horas,
Scribendique modum faciam, finemque loquendi
De Point Gallorum, ne sim Point garrulus auctor.
Tu mihi Point dices pro isto modo carmine grates,
Quod tibi rettulerim, quis sit Point vsus vbique?
Sed non Point totum dixi huius nominis vsum.

Bi(v) STRENA DE LIONE
& Asino.
De Leone ad Patronos.

Vt Leo magnanimus Iuda de stirpe, tribuque
Christus mortiferi pestem deuicit Auerni,
Et tetrae imperium secuit, decretaque mortis
Morte sua, ac victor disrupit vincula primi
Horrida delicti, libertatemque reduxit
Amissam, antiquae diluto crimine culpae.
Sic quoque nos Christi generosi morte leones,
Atque eius corpus qui cuncti existimus vnum,
Tristia luctiferae rumpamus vincula labis
Anni praeteriti, atque iugo noua vita vetusto
Doctrinae Domini conformis ad omnia sanctae,
Huius ad ingressum succedat protinus anni,
Et vetus antiqui discedat criminis Adam,
Delectetque nouus, Domino auxiliante, creatus.
Sol nouus exortu dispellat nubila Chtistus [Christus],
Et quas inuexit crassas mala vita tenebras,
Cordibus ex nostris: faciat feruere calore
Illa nouo semper veri & coelestis amoris.
Nutriat, exhilaret sol hic aeternus Olympi:
Et splendore sui iam dulcis pusio vultus
Mentibus emergens, tenebras illustret inertes.

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But *Point* me, *Point* well painter. The painter does not depict me well, at least in my judgement. I have one *Point*, which *Points* to me, but I hope, in this so difficult *Point*, that I will not die *Point*. There is one point in me, which pricks me sharply, yet I hope I will not die from this point. This is what grieves me, and frequently day and night, but which I do not hope to be my cause of death. It is almost past the *Point* so that it almost sounds for four hours, and I shall impose a limit on writing and an end on speaking about the *Point* of the French, lest *Point* a blabbering writer I become. Will you say *Point* to me as thanks for the song because I related to you what *Point* means everywhere? Yet I have not said all the uses of the word *Point*.

A New Year's Gift about a Lion and an Ass. Bi(v)

Of a Lion to his Patrons.

As a magnanimous lion of the lineage and tribe of Judah, so Christ subdued the plague of deadly hell, and severed the command and decrees of foul death by His own death, and as victor shattered the grim chains of original sin, and restored the freedom that had been lost, after the crime of our ancient sin had been washed away.[11]

As such may we too as lions by the death of noble Christ we, who all consider His body to be one, break the sorrowful chains of the sorrow-bringing fault from the past year, a new life freed from the old yoke and conforming to everything of the Lord's sacred doctrine, may it immediately begin at the start of this year, and may ancient Adam step away from his former crime, and a new creation delight, with the Lord's help. May Christ, a new sun, with His rising dispel the clouds and the thick shadows out of our hearts which an evil life had brought in, and may He make these things seethe with heat and a perpetual new spring of heavenly love. May this eternal sun of Olympus nourish and exhilarate, may the youth, already emerging with the splendour of His sweet countenance, illuminate the inert darkness from our minds.

11 Throughout the Bible Jesus is described as being of the tribe of Judah (Revelations 5:5; Matthew 1:1; Luke: 3:33). In Genesis, Jesus' coming is predicted, and he is described as being of the tribe of Judah and like a lion (Genesis 49:9–10), and the "original sin" written of here refers, of course, to the Original Sin of Adam and Eve.

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Fiat polluti noua circumcisio cordis:
Atque elidatur peccandi praua voluntas
Omnis, & in Domini, resoluto corde, recumbat
Prona voluntatem, quam tota mente sequamur.
Post hac sancta Dei vt fiat, non nostra voluntas,
Quae carnem, mundumque sapit, Satanaeque triumphum.
Bii Mens vigilet posthac: sed furua obdormiat omnis
Culpa, & sordentis torpescant crimina vitae.
Sobria, iusta, pia ac casta omnibus, atque pudica,
Et simplex semper sit conuersatio vitae,
Contra insurgentes hostes, mentique rebelles
Motus & mundi & Satanae, carnisque petulcae:
Sic prostrata seges vitiorum, & tota caterua
Infra nos longe semper despecta iacebit.
Et sic diuini cessabit Numinis ira,
Plagaeque innumerae, quibus afflictamur vbique
Pro merito & sursum queis voluimur atque deorsum.
Vt Leo degeneres pecudes & vilia temnit
Corpora, nec censet digna illa existere pugna:
Sic nobis semper longe inferiora putemus
Ac indigna quidem, quae versent pectora nostra
Dedecus & vitium, turpis, sordensque voluptas,
Ebrietas, Epicuri & comessatio porci.
Quaestus, auaritia, ambitio, iactantia, fastus:
Et quae grassantur nocturno tempore laruae,
Mancipia & serui Satanae, noctisque perennis.
Incipiat vitae maculas odisse prioris
Quisque suae, ac, castam statuat sibi ducere vitam,
Coelo conformem, virtutum laude decoram:
Nostra quod astriferi teneant commercia coeli
Pectora, diuinae semper consortia mentis,
Et sint cum Domino aeternum victura per aeuum.

De Asino ad amicos.

En vobis tardum mittit Mameranus asellum
Pro strena, auritum, tardigradumque pecus.
Debet homo lentum vehemens equitare iumentum,
Bii(v) Mitiget hoc iras quo ille suas:
Delicti casum quo semper vitet, vt ille

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May there be a new circumcision of the polluted heart and every vicious desire to sin be expelled and, with our heart resolved, may it lie supine in our desire for the Lord, which [desire] we follow with all our mind.[12] How, after this, the sacred will of God be done, but not ours, which knows the flesh, the world, and the triumph of Satan.

May the mind be vigilant in the future: but also may all dark sin fall asleep, Bii
and the sins of an unworthy life grow numb. May your way of life always be sober, just, pious and chaste in every way, and modest, and simple and in the face of rising enemies, movements of the world, Satan and the wanton flesh rebelling against the mind: thus the seeds of vices will lie on the ground, at our feet, and the whole throng below us, always despised. And thus the anger of the divine God and the innumerable plagues by which we are justly afflicted from all sides and in which we are enveloped up and down, will be held back.

As the lion scorns inferior beasts and worthless kills, and does not think them appropriate to be fought with: thus may we always consider them inferior to us, and indeed unworthy, those things that stir our breasts—disgrace, vice, and shameful and unworthy pleasure, drunkenness, and the carousing of an Epicurian pig. Profit, avarice, ambition, lying, pride: these are demons that advance at night time, they are possessions and slaves of Satan, and of eternal darkness. Let whoever begins to hate the stains of his former life and establishes for himself to lead a pure life, similar to that in heaven, decorated in praise of virtues: May our bodies, because they possess the gifts of starry heaven, always sharing of a divine plan, be on the verge of winning for time eternal with the Lord's help.

The Ass to his Friends.

Behold! Mameranus sends to you the slow ass as a New Year's Gift, a keen eared
slow stepping beast. A lively man ought to ride the slow mule, | so that by means Bii(v)
of it he can mitigate his fits of anger: so that he may always avoid the calamity

12 See Deuteronomy 30:6 for "circumcision of the heart" and the idea that by Christ's light men and women are able to set themselves apart for God.

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Quo semel offendit, vitat vbique locum.
Atque asinina vti quo semper simplicitate
Possit, & vt simplex carpere semper iter.
Vtque habet hic curtam glabro de tergore caudam:
Sic caudam pompae protrahat ille breuem.
Auritum vtque caput tenet ac prae grande, magis sic
Plura audire velit, quam male multa loqui.
Vtque rudis pabuli est, habet vt scabrosaque labra:
Sic debet lautam nullus habere gulam.
Vt graditur lente, sic tu gradiare modeste,
Ne te praecipitent impetus atque furor.
Debet iumento vehemens incedere lento
Ne per transuersum fractior ira ferat.
Namque offendiculum semel in quo offendit asellus
Vitat, & ingreditur mox alia ille via.
Sic tu nunc vitae gradere in nouitate pudicae,
Atque nouam casto pectore quaere viam.
Non etenim frustra est equitat quod Christus asellum,
Simplex, innocuum, sed bene cautum animal.
Simplicitas vitae: vitij cautela cauendi:
Sic aderit semper gratia, pax que Dei.
Virtus est vitium fugere ac sapientia prima
Stultitia careas, vt bene Flaccus ait.
Stultitia nolunt multi, vitiisque carre [carere]:
Quaerunt aeternam nocte, dieque necem.
Horum tu vitae monitus noli amulus esse,
Si cupis aeterna pace, bonoque frui.

FINIS.

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of fault, so that he, once he has offended once, avoids it in any location. And so that he might always use the ass's simplicity, in order to always seize the simple path. And although it has a shortened tail hanging from its smooth back: it produces its short tail for ostentation. And just as it has a head with long ears, and more than full grown, so he would wish to hear more, rather than to speak many things poorly. And just as it is uncultivated in terms of its fodder, so it has scabrous lips, so no one ought to have an elegant palate. Just as it walks slowly, so you must walk modestly, in order that anger and fury not strike you down. It behoves an impetuous person to ride a slow beast, lest his rather debilitating anger carry him astray. For the ass avoids the stumbling block upon which he once has stumbled, and next time advances by another route. Thus you must walk in the newness of a modest life, and seek a new way with a chaste soul. And furthermore it is not in vain that Christ rode an ass a simple, innocent, but rightly cautious animal. Simplicity of life: the caution to avoid vice: in such a way peace and the grace of God will always be near. "Virtue is to flee vice and foremost wisdom, you must first lack stupidity", as Flaccus [i.e. Horace] said well.[13] Many men do not wish to be free of stupidity or their sins: they search for eternal death night and day. You, having been advised of these things, must not be not like a mule, if you wish to enjoy eternal peace and the good.

End.

13 Cf. Horace. *Epistles*. 1.1.41–42: "virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima / stultitia caruisse". Mameranus is, here, punning on the allusion to Horace and the ears of a donkey, since *flaccus* means "floppy-eared", or "lop-eared". See Holt N. Parker, "Flaccus", *The Classical Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (2000): 455–462.

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APPENDIX 2

Gratulatorium

Translated by Matthew Tibble and Gary Vos

1 Introduction

Mameranus was unable to accompany Philip to England in 1554. Disappointed, he re-imagined and celebrated the arrival in "Gratulatorium" and the marriage ceremony in the "Epithalamium" as best as he was able to whilst working from reports available to him in Renty, France. He prefaced these two works with a short dedication, written later for the occasion of Philip's arrival in Belgium in 1555. The "Gratulatorium" is remarkable, not least because of the legal defence Mameranus provides for Mary's legitimacy and the vivid accounts of England's recent history. The final work included in the volume, with all the parts published as one under the title *Gratulatorium*, is a reprint of *Domino Philippo* (Louvain: Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1549), an earlier work of congratulation that heaps much praise on the son of Charles V.

19. *Gratulatorium in serenissimi potentissimique Principis ac Domini Dn. Philippi, Regis Angliae, Franciae, Hierusalem, citeriosis Siciliae, Hyberniae etc. Defensoris fidei, Principis Hispaniarum Archiducis Austriae, Ducis Burgundiae, Mediolani, Brabantiae, Lucemburgiae, etc. in Belgiam, anno MDLV. V. Septembris adventum. Item Gratulatorium in eiusdem 19 Julii anno 1554, in Angliam adventum. Et Epithalamium nuptiarum eiusdem cum Maria serenissima Regina Angliae. Cum adiuncto Gratulatorio primi aduentus eiusdem in Germaniam, in mense martio an. 1549. Auctore Mamerano Lucemburgensi. Coloniae Per Iacobum Soterem. Anno 1555*. Cologne: Jacob Soter, 1555. 4°, Col: A-G^4, fols. [28].
References: VD16 ZV 10323; USTC 660592 (composite title; parts are occasionally given additional catalogue numbers: VD16 M 425, M 427, M 428, M 429; USTC 660539).[1]

1 There are numerous extant copies of this work including, but not limited to: The British Library (General Reference Collection: 1213.h.36.); Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Parker Library: MS.424(2)); The Municipal Library of Besançon (Réserve Granvelle RL: REL.GR.288); Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, Antwerp (c:lvd:848897); The National Library of the Netherlands (KW 1714 C 38); Houghton Library, Harvard University (GEN *NC5 M3103 555g); The Bavarian State Library, Munich (4 P.o.lat. 593; 4 P.o.lat. 382). The following transcription is based on the British Library copy.

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2 Text and Translation

Ai GRATVLA-
TORIVM IN SERENISS.
POTENTISSIMIQVE PRINCIPIS
ac Domini Dn. Philippi, Regis Angliae,
Franciae, Hierusalem, citerioris Siciliae,
Hyberniae etc. Defensoris fidei, Princi-
pis Hispan. Archiducis Austriae, Du-
cis Burgundiae, Mediolani, Braban-
tiae, Lucemburgiae, &c. in Bel-
giam, anno MDLV.
V. Septembris ad-
uentum.

Item Gratulatorium in eiusdem 19 Julij, an. 1554. in Angliam adventum.

Et Epithalamium nuptiarum eiusdem cum Maria Sereniss. Regina Angliae.

Cum adiuncto Gratulatorio primi aduentus eiusdem in Germaniam, in mense martio an. 1549.

Auctore Mamerano Lucemburgensi.

COLONIAE
Per Iacobum Soterem.
Anno 1555.

Ai(v) [*blank sig.*]

Aii IN SERENISS. POTEN-
TISSIMIQVE PRINCIPIS AC DO-
mini, Domini Philippi, Regis Angliae, Franciae,
Hierusalem, citerioris Siciliae, Hyberniae &c.

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A congratulatory poem on the arrival of the most serene and powerful Prince and Lord Philip, King of England, France, Jerusalem, of the Kingdom of Naples, Ireland etc. Defender of the Faith, Prince of Spain Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Mediolanum [Milan], Brabant [in Flanders], Luxemburg, etc. in Belgium, on the 5th September in the year 1555. Ai

Also, a congratulatory poem on the arrival of the same in England in 19th June 1554.

And an Epithalamium of nuptials of the same with the most serene Mary, Queen of England.

With the addition of a congratulatory poem on his first arrival in Germany of the same in March, 1549.

By the author Mameranus of Luxembourg.

Cologne
By Jacob Soter
In the year 1555.

[*blank sig.*] Ai(v)

On the arrival in Belgium of the most serene and powerful Prince and Lord, Lord Philip, King of England, France, Jerusalem, of Naples, and Ireland etc., Aii

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Defensoris fidei, Principis Hispaniarum,
Archducis Austriae, Ducis Burgun-
diae, Mediolani, Brabantiae,
Lucemb. &c. in Bel-
giam aduen-
tum,

Gratulatorium Mamerani Lucemburgeni.

Optimus in patrias, quòd te, Rex inclyte, terras
Ille Deus, pater omnipotens, pater optimus ille
Rettulit, & sacrum nobis ostendere vultum
Ille tuum rursus voluit felice videndum
Omine, cum titulo regali caelitus aucto:
Ritè Deo primùm dignas persoluere grates
Pro bonitate sua, qua semper mitis in omnes
Respicit & quae sunt, solus qua cuncta gubernat,
Pronos, deuotos semper debere fatemur:
Et facimus prompti nostris pro viribus omnes
Hoc equidem, vt dignum est, vtque officiosa voluntas
Exigit, atque humilis serui vt sors ista requirit.
Deinde tuum aduentum, multum saluere iubemus:
Quem tibi iucundum, nobis optamus ab omni
Parte salutiferum: sed formidabilis hosti
Vt sit & infaustus, turbatorique quietis
communis, dulcem poterant qua viuere vitam
Cuncti & felicem, tum nos, aliique, suique,
Aii(v) Poscimus, atque omni, qui praefert praelia paci.
Maxima nam nostras implerunt gaudia mentes,
Laetitiaeque nouae moles, ingensque voluptas
Affecit cunctos, saluum, incolumemque redisse
Te nobis, patriaeque; tuae miserè afflictatae,
Tempore iam longo per cunctos nequiter annos,
Motibus horrendi populantibus vndique belli
Insanis, semper tristis quos excitat hostis,
Finibus inhaerens semper damnosus & atrox.
Cuius suffrenes [*sufferens*] producto milite vires,[2]

2 The translators cannot find *suffrenes* in any dictionary, though believe it to be a medieval Latin

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Defender of the Faith, Prince of Spain, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Mediolanum [Milan], Brabant [in Flanders], Luxemburg, etc.

A Congratulatory Poem by Mameranus of Luxembourg.

Because God most gracious, our omnipotent Father, our most loving Father, has brought you back, O famous King, to your ancestral home, and because He has wished to show us your sacred face again to be seen with a happy omen with your royal title divinely increased, we proclaim that, obediently and faithfully, we duly owe it to God to give Him, first and foremost, appropriate thanks in return for His goodness, with which He always looks mildly upon us all, and with which He alone controls all things that are: and we all do this willingly, as our strength permits, as is becoming, as our dutiful desire demands, and as our lot of a humble servant requires. Next, we heartily wish that your return be safe—we pray that it be pleasant to you, and in every respect salutary to us: but we also ask that be terrifying for our enemy and bring him bad luck, our enemy who overturns the peace of all, thanks to which everyone—we, other people, and even his own men—were able to lead a pleasant and happy life; and may your return be terrifying for everyone who prefers war to peace.

For the greatest delights have filled our minds, and a mass of new joy as well as an enormous pleasure has come over everyone in view of the fact that you have returned to us and to your country so pitifully afflicted for a long time already, so unjustly for all these years during which from every side upheavals of a gruesome and insane war were devastating it—upheavals which the savage, harmful and cruel enemy always kicks up anew while clinging to our borders. Whose forces, his army already in place, the fatherland asks you, as the Prince Aii(v)

verb. Luc Deitz has suggested that the word might be *effrenes*, acknowledging the enigmatic construction. He therefore reads "effrenes vires" as an accusative plural, although points out that this makes the "&" before "longe" somewhat redundant. His estimated translation of "Cuius suffrenes [sic] producto milite vires" is "cast out these lawless troops of a fully deployed army". Gary Vos addresses the passage and a number of other aspects of Mameranus's poetry within the forthcoming and provisionally titled paper, "Some Emendations to the Poetry of Nicolaus Mameranus (1500–ca. 1566)".

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Vt Princeps patriae, non vt tamen Angliacus Rex,
Te rogat, & longè hunc depellas finibus hostem,
Tandem tranquillam sub dulci vt degere vitam
Possimus pace, atque Deo seruire quieti.
Nam quantum Angliaci sancta ad diademata regni
Et nomen spectat, semper stent foedera firma
Atque inconcussa, inuiolataque vincula pacis.
Quatenus ille tamen firmus sub foedere pacis
Perstiterit, nulloque tuum tibi milite regnum
Vexarit, missa ventosa per aequora classe.
Interea faustum tibi nunc gratulamur & almum
Atque exoptatum longo iam tempore cuncti
Ad nos aduentum: felicia cuncta precantes
Atque salutifera à superis: Deus insuper ipse
Hic tibi longaeuos vitam protendat in annos:
Felicemque suo tueatur Numine semper,
Vt ferat immensos spacioso tempore fructus
Christicolis cunctis mundi, pacemque reducat
Perpetuam, exciso perturbatore quietis
Omni per totum virtute ac Numine mundum:
Virtutesque tuae titulis aequentur vt amplis
Et tam praeclaris tandem, multisquem per orbem.

Aiii GRATVLATORIVM IN
D. PHILIPPI CAROLI V. IMP.
Aug. Filij, Hisp. Principis, felicem in Angliam 19. Iulij, Anni 1554.
aduentum,
Per Mameranum.

Maximus Hesperiis Princeps dum soluit ab oris,
Caeruleas facturus iter per Tethyos vndas:
Purpureis qua vectus equis, croceisque quadrigis,
Fulgidus emergit Titan, iam lampade terras
Illustraturus rutila, caelumque fugata
Nocte retecturus, rebus sub luce videndis:
Imperat Eoo, procedens Aeolus, Euro,
Et Subsolano, gelidoque immitia Cauro
Frigora mugienti, Boreali semper ab axe:
Vicinisque sibi Vulturno ac Apeliote.

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of our fatherland (not just the King of England), to subdue and to expel that enemy far beyond our borders, so that we might finally live a tranquil life in sweet peace and quietly serve God. For as much as he looks to the holy diadem and the title of the English kingdom, long may our bonds stand firm and unbroken and the bonds of peace inviolate. In so far as he yet was able to stand firm under the peace treaty and was unable to vex your kingdom with any army, even though the navy was sent across the windy seas. Meanwhile, we all together congratulate your successful, beneficent and longed-for arrival in our midst after a long wait, praying the heavens to grant you every success and happiness: and may on top of all this, the Lord himself grant you a long life in this country: and may He always protect your life and render it happy, so that it might bring immeasurable fruits for a long time to come to all who know Christ in this world, and that it might restore everlasting peace, once the perturber of peace has been expelled from the whole world with the help of all kind of virtue, and of the Holy Spirit: and may your own virtues be made equal to your titles, so great and so splendid and so plentiful throughout the world.

Congratulatory poem on the felicitous arrival of Lord Philip, son of Charles V the Imperial Augustus, Spanish Prince, to England on 19th July of the year 1554. By Mameranus. Aiii

While from the Spanish shores the greatest Prince sets sail, about to make a journey through the Tethys' blue waves: the shining Titan emerges, borne by purple steeds, and golden chariots, now about to illuminate the lands with his glittering lantern, and to uncover heaven with night having been routed, for things to be seen under light: he rules over Eous (Aeolus preceding him), Eurus, and Subsolanus, and icy Caurus bellowing cruel ice, always from the Boreal pole: and his neighbours Vulturnus and Apeliotes. And simultaneously

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Euronothoque simul, saeuisque Aquilonibus vt se
Carceribus teneant: totoque facessere ponto
Ocia in alta iubet, longoque absistere tractu
A pelagi vicibus: Neptunia regna relinquant
Nunc aliis flatu, diuersa ex parte mouenda:
Ille Calydonios donec cum classe Britannos
Hesperius Princeps pertingat saluus ad ipsos.
Imperat imbrifero consurgat fortior Austro,
Et miti Zephyro, & qui sibilat inter vtrunque,
Humenti Lybico: socium cui se Aphricus addat,
Libanothusque simul: simul & tu blande Fauoni.
Nec mora, mox dictis parent, ac iussa capessunt,
Ab sese diuersa quidem ac pugnantia Regis.
Illi nanque silent: isti sed flamina fundunt
Aiii(v) Principis in classem, plenis resonantia buccis.
Curua repercusso mox soluitur anchora morsu
Vndique, & in puppi stridens iunctura laborat,
Compagesque gemunt sinuoso in carcere flexu,
Spectante occiduum scopuloso vertice solem:
Ex quo veliuolum, dum prora ac puppis in aequor,
Luctando euasit, patulasque erupit in vndas
Oceani, vasto mox turgida carbasa ponto
Procedunt, tumidos sulcantia flexibus aestus,
Protensis in iter velis, cursumque secundum,
Neptuno pelagi motus, caecosque tumultus
Compescente feri, atque iubente quiescere fluctus,
Vndarum rabidos, tumidasque redire procellas
In sua claustra, suis septis, metisque teneri:
Donec Angliacas Princeps transuectus in oras
Saluus, & optatam videat fausto omine terram.
Aspirant in noctem aurae nec candida cursum
Luna negat: splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.
Extulit at croceo cum mane aurora cubili
Purpureum subuecta caput, vibrare procellas
Incipiunt venti, pelagoque insurgere murmur
Longè exaudiri raucum, incertumque profundo:
Et cum nascenti consurgere flamina luce
Fortius, ac tremuli stridere fragore rudentes.
Hic cernas totum contectum classibus aequor,
Ac veluti longè tranquillo marmore tendi.

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Euronotus, savage Aquilo, so that they stay in their prisons: and he orders the entire sea to make off in quick waves, and to cease the long movements by the tides of the sea: May they now leave Neptune's domains, to be moved from every direction, to others and their blowing: until that Western Prince with his fleet reaches the Calydonian Britons unharmed. He commands that the Auster rise up, stronger than meek, rain-bringing Zephyr, moist Lybicus, who hisses between them: Aphricus adds himself to him as an ally and Libanothus at the same time: and you too, charming Favonius.

No delay, immediately they obey their commands and take on the orders of the King, diverse and contradictory from their part. Indeed, they were calm for him: but they pour their breath | into the fleet of the Prince, with full mouths Aiii(v)
resonating. With a resounding bite the curved anchor is loosened completely from all sides, and the creaking joining labours in the stern, and the fastenings groan in the hull with its sinuous bend, while the rocky top looks at the setting sun: out of this [storm] the ship escaped, wrestling free, whilst the prow and stern broke into the water and open waves of the ocean, the swollen linen [sails] advance into the vast sea, ploughing the swollen streams in zigzagging manoeuvres, their sails stretched out in the direction of their course, and a swift course, after Neptune calmed the upheavals and the dark commotion of the wild sea and ordered the swollen waves of water to return to rest, and that mad storms return to their enclosure, to be kept within their confines, their boundaries: until the Prince had been transported safely to English shores and he may see the desired land with a favourable omen.

The breezes blow into the night, and the bright moon does not deny its procession: the sea glitters beneath the shimmering light. But when Morning raised her purple head from her yellow bed in the morning, the winds begin to brandish storms, and from the deep sea were to be heard uncertain and hoarse murmurs rising in the distance: and with the birthing light the wind to rise stronger, and the trembling ropes to creak with noise.

Here in present circumstance you might discern the whole sea being covered by the fleet, and to be stretched out far, as if in tranquil marble. O Prince,

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Mille tibi Princeps, herbosa Hollandia naues:
Mille tibi occiduum quae spectat Phrysia solem:
Mille tibi ante alias insignis Flandria terras:
Mille tibi locuples, refugo circumflua ponto
Anglia: & horrisono quae tunditur aequoris aestu
Insula, mille tibi pinguis Selandia misit
Littus ad Hesperium: ceruice vbi maximus Athlas [sic],
Aiv Sustinet impositum stellis ardentibus orbem.
Nobilis illa virum, pecorisque, omnisque metalli
Fertilior, vinique oleae, cererisque perennis,
Orbe sub immensi quo vix locus alter olympi,
Facturo tibi iter, tua mille Hispania naues
His addit, variis donis ac munere plenas,
Instructasque viris, armisque, penuque frequenti.
Venit laeta dies, pelago subuecta profundo,
Cùm matutinis desudat solibus aer:
Et madet apricus roranti gramine campus:
Humida fumosos exhalant prata vapores:
Obtegit obscuras cinerosa & nebula valles:
Prima luce micans: specula sublimis ab alta
Regalis solii, cùm prudentissima longè
Spectans in zephyrum: tremulas vbi Phoebus in vndas
Puniceis deuectus equis, flagrantis olympi,
Pergit ad Antipodas rapidis inferre quadrigis,
Cocturas messes & corpora languida flammas:
Regina Anglicae, diuino numine gentis,
Innumeris totum substratum classibus aequor
Prospicit, & ventis intendi vela secundis,
Littus in aduersum, atque tuos Hamptonia portus,
Dirigere effusum, properanti remige, cursum.
Tunc subitò accensi flagrans vena intima cordis
Palpitat, iniectis potis est vix stringere frenis
Laetitiae immensos fluctus ac pectoris aestus.
Gaudia quis referat? verbis quae lingua resoluat
Laetitias toto suffusas vndique regno?
Cùm sibi adesse datum diuino Numine Regem
Cernunt regnicolae Proceres, plebsque aemula morum
Ac studii dominorum, illi quocunque feruntur.
Aduentum effusi spectant in moenia ciues,
Et super excelsas turres, domuumque fenestras,

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grassy Holland sent you a thousand ships: Frisia that faces the setting sun sent you a thousand: Flanders, famous before other countries sent you a thousand ships, opulent England encircled by the receding sea sent you a thousand: and the island that is beaten by the horrible sounding agitation of the sea, fertile Zeeland sent a thousand to you to the Western coast: where greatest Atlas | Aiv
under the shining stars supports the world imposed upon his neck. That noble [place] of strength, and of cattle, and more fertile of all metal, and of wine and olive, of everlasting bread, which is almost another seat of Olympus to you, who shall make your way there, on this immense world, your Spain adds another thousand ships to these, rich with various gifts and presents, and equipped with men, arms, and with numerous provisions.

The happy day comes, having risen from the deep, while a breeze blows in the early sunshine: and the warm field is wet with dewy grass: the humid meadows evaporate steamy heat: a grey mist darkens the shadowy valleys: glittering at first light: from the high lookout of the lofty royal throne, with the most prudent woman [i.e. the Queen] observing far into the west winds: where Phoebus having been carried amidst the waves by crimson steeds, of blazing Olympus, proceeds to advance to those on the other end of the world in his speedy chariot, the flames just about cooking crops and sluggish bodies. The Queen of England, with the divine will of her people, looks out over the sea, which is entirely covered over by countless ships, and directing their wide course to your ports in Southampton with hurrying rowers, their sails being directed towards the coast opposite them by favourable winds. Then suddenly a most intimate blazing cavity of the kindled heart throbs, and she is hardly able to contain the immeasurable waves of joy and the passion of her heart, despite the restraints placed on it.

Who could list the joys? What tongue could resolve the joys that suffuse the entire kingdom everywhere into words? Because the Noble inhabitants of the kingdom consider the King a gift from God to aid them, and the common people are in emulation of the habits and zeal of their lords, they are led everywhere by him. The citizens watch his arrival, spread out across the city walls, and from their high towers, and from the windows of their houses, | the young Aiv(v)

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Aiv(v) Cum senibus iuuenes, pueri simul atque puellae.
Laetitia exultant cuncti: stupor occupat artus.
Sed quae causa huius per tot discrimina tanti
Principis aduentus, longè venientis ab oris
Cum tanta occiduis ventosa per aequora classe?
Calliope memora: simul & quem cernere visum
Hic videor mihi: quem strepitum vel turbinis instar
Demitti à superis: tanti quae causa sereni?
Nam cerno medium sese diffindere coelum,
Et tanquam Angelicas tractim descendere turbas
Agmina coelicolum, niueo fulgentia bysso,
Ordine, diuini velut ad solennia festi.
Vt sibi praeuisum à summo, addictumque Tonante
Accipiat sacrum sacra cum coniuge Regnum:
Causa cur aduenit, sola est atque vnica, Princeps.
Sed quae sit stirpis, cupio quoque scire, propago:
Quis generis nexus: tum quàm sit vterque propinquus
Ad regni sacram iusta de stirpe coronam.
Castelli Rex ille duas Fernandus habebat
Natas: Iohannam, Dux quae tibi nupta Philippe
Flandorum Princeps, magnae virtutis amore.
Vnde trahens ortum, Caesar tu Carole Quinte,
Et tu Rex Fernande simul: Duo lumina mundi,
Imperii immensam regitis moderamine molem:
Et quam tu Princeps, Catharinam, Arthure, minorem,
Nempe duodecimum, quae vix excesserit annum
Iam tum, praeteneram, vt quoque eras Arthure, puellam,
Duxisti natu: genuit quem Septimus ille
Optimus Henricus, sancteque pieque gubernans.
Arthurus senior (licet hic excesserit annum
Vix quartum ac decimum) fatis praeuentus iniquis,
Dum sibi desponsae iunxisset foedera dextrae
Coniugis intactum thalamum, castumque cubile
Bi Linquit, & inuisis superis diuulsus vterque
Nescius alterius: nec lecti cognitus vsus,
Atque maritalis, fato separatus vterque,
Virgineum decus, intemerataque claustra pudoris,
Atque pudicitiam retinens sibi vterque virentem
Expers illecebrae, atque tori genialis amoris.
Hanc, post maioris natu, de turbine mundi
Decessum ad Superos, melioraque regna perennis

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with the elderly, and boys likewise with girls. Altogether they jump about in joy: stupidity seizing their limbs.

But what is the cause for the arrival of such a great Prince through so many dangers, coming from far westerly shores across windy seas with such a large fleet? Remind, Calliope: here it seems to me that I see him as a vision, who as a crashing or the equivalent of a tornado was sent down to us by the gods: what is the cause of such calm? For I see that heaven divides itself right down the middle, that Angelic groups slowly descend, trains of heavenly beings as it were, shining in white linen, in succession, just as if to the processions of a divine festival.

As was foreseen and foretold to him by the greatest Thunderer, may he accept the sacred Kingdom with a sacred wife: this is the single and sole reason why the Prince arrived.

But what might the succession of his lineage be? I too wish to know: what is his genealogy? How close, then, both his parents are, to the sacred crown of the kingdom on the grounds of their legitimate lineage?

That King of Castile, Ferdinand [II of Aragon, 1475–1504], had two daughters: Joanna [of Castile, 1479–1555], who was married to you, Duke Philip, King of Flanders [I of Castile, 1478–1506], out of love for your great virtue. Drawing from that descent, was you, Caesar Charles V [Holy Roman Emperor, 1500–1558], and you King Ferdinand [I, succeeded as Holy Roman Emperor, 1503–1564] as well: Two lights of the world, you rule the immeasurable throng with the rudder of empire: and how you, Prince Arthur [Tudor] whom that most good Henry VII, governing in a sacred, holy way, begot, led Catherine [of Aragon] a minor, who barely exceeded just 12 years at that time, and was frail (as were you, Arthur), a girl in her age.

The older Arthur, headed off by the unjust fates (although he was allowed to live barely past fourteen), left behind an untouched and chaste bed, while he had reached agreements for the right hand of the wife promised to him | Bi
both, apart from jealous gods, unknowing of the other and the use of the bed unknown, both of them separated by fate, both of them retaining their virginal dignity, the inviolate lock of marital shame, and their youthful chastity, having no part in seduction and the love of the wedding bed.

Soon, after the oldest in birth had left the madness of the world for heaven and better kingdoms of another, eternal age, another brother, heir of the king-

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Alterius saecli, Arthuri: mox duxerat alter
Regni haeres [heres] frater: qui nempe hoc nomine deinde
Henricus fuit octauus. Nam plena parentum
Sic vtriusque stetit stabilis, concorsque voluntas:
Pontificis summi, quam dispensatio sanxit,
Verum in connubium, diuinum, legitimumque.
Hinc haeres regni Maria haec Regina creata,
Legitima & vera, & qua nemo propinquior extat:
Vtpote qua sola, nemo vicinior haeres
Extat qui titulum verum, iustumque tenere
Possit legitimè, regni nec ferre coronam.
Irrita prima fides, temerataque copula legum
Legitima, extat vbi, nunquid qui nascitur extra
Connubii primique torum, verique tenorem
Esse potest haeres, coniunx si prima supersit?
Sic semper tales & inextricabilis error
Implicat, inuoluit, diuexat, distrahit, angit
Post scelus: aeterno sic castigante parente
Perfidiam, discant quò sanctè legibus vti
Mortales semper diuinis atque prophanis:
Nulla vt deinde fide, coniunx quae ducitur, extet,
Praua pudicitiam, quae non absente marito
Prostituat, vel quam timidus non ille sinistrè
Suspitione [suspicione] graui temerè insimuletque, prematque.
Bi(v) Hoc dubium primus falso tuus, Ebora, mouit
Vlscius, obtrito vendens mactata macello
Plebi per totam pecuaria viliter vrbem
Cardineus Praesul, consulto Lincolinensi
Praesule Longlando: fratris non lege licere
Ducere legitimè vxorem post fata relictam,
Etsi non tactam, neque laeso vtriusque pudore.
Quod suadens Regi, sceleris mox praestitit ansam.
Credidit hoc etenim Princeps temerè, atque libellum
Scripsit reppudij, & soluit sibi lege ligatam
Legitima, licita ac vera, de seque remouit,
Bis denos postquam cùm iam vixisset ad annos
Atque duos hoc coniugio, quod sancta probauit,
Ac vt legitimum, verumque Ecclesia sanxit.
Vlscius vlsciscens, sibi quod tu Carole Caesar
Quas ad Cardineum coetum promotoriales,

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dom, married her. He, furthermore, certainly was Henry VIII with this name. For her will, full of either parent, thus stands stable and harmonious, which a dispensation of the highest Pope confirmed in true marriage, divine, and legitimate.

From here this Mary was created Queen, heir of the kingdom, legitimate and true, to whom nobody comes close: for there is nobody who is a close heir but she alone, who could legitimately hold a true and justified title, nor wear the crown of the kingdom.

Can it be that the first vow, and legitimate binding of laws is invalid and violated when there is an heir born outside the bed of their first marriage and the course of truth, if the first wife survives? Thus always inextricable error implicates such people, involved them, tore them apart, ripped them to pieces, vexed them after the crime: while the eternal parent [God] chastises perfidy accordingly, the mortals always learn how to use justly the divine and also secular laws. In addition, there is no wife, who is married, that she, with crooked faith that she prostitutes her chastity even though her husband is not absent, or that he, fearing her, would not falsely accuse her blindly and with grave suspicion persecute her.

Ebora, your Cardinal Wolsey ["The Butcher's Cur", 1473–1530], who cheaply Bi(v)
sells butchered livestock to the plebs throughout the city from a run-down butchery, first stirred this doubt—wrongly—having consulted Bishop Longland of Lincoln [John Longland, 1473–1547]: that it is not allowed by law to marry legitimately the wife of one's brother who is bereft after a sad fate, but is yet untouched, and that the chastity of both remains unviolated. While he was advising this to the King, the opportunity for a crime was quickly furnished. And indeed the Prince rashly trusted this, and wrote a pamphlet of repudiation, and dissolved the bond with her by legitimate, lawful, and true law, and withdrew from her, after he had lived in this marriage for 22 years, which the Holy Church approved and sanctioned as legitimate and true. Wolsey, vengefully composed this repudiation, so that your aunt was exposed, so that he

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Ambitioso animo, atque superba mente petisset,
Vt summus fieret Praesul, tunc forte negasses:
Hoc tua reppudium, pateretur vt amita, fecit.
Tunc rex vt tantum sensit sub nomine saxum
Praesulum, in incertum, firma de sede moueri:
Atque sibi in dubium, quod certum erat ante, vocari:
Anxius ex falso, turbata mente volutat
Plurima, vacillans, nec consilij sibi firmus:
Atque edicta suae reuocat coelestia vocis,
Legitimae in praeiudicium vergentia natae
Haeredis verae: & diuertit ad altera vota
Deuius: hinc illum magis ac magis implicat error,
Ducendis finis non deinde vxoribus esset
Vllus & vlterius foret insatiabile votum
Nubendi, premeretque noui sitis vsque furoris.
Bii Hic se Roffensis Praesul, Morusque repente,
Insignes, doctique viri, grauitate verendi,
Opponunt, tantum facinusque, nefasque refellunt.
Nunquid non liceat fratri sic lege solutam,
Ducere & intactam? vel si sit cognitus vsus
Coniugij talis, nulla sed prole relicta,
Vel motae signo, nil dispensatio rebus
In tantis summi sit Episcopi & alma potestas?
Quae scriptura vetat? quae lex contraria dicit?
In domino nubat mulier, quae lege soluta est,
Deinde viro cuicunque volet, non lege ligatur,
Lex nisi scripto expressa, aut consuetudine constet,
At lex vxorem fratris vetus ipsa iubebat
Coniugio sterili, quo frater duceret alter,
Post mortem fratris, fructumque excire morantem.
Quanquam non ideo haec memorentur, vt ipsa facessat
Lex noua de medio, vel consuetudinis vsus,
Sed longè hos alia ratione fuisse ligatos
Monstretur, licita ac connubia vera fuisse.
Nunquid propterea, vos respondete periti
Doctores legum, sacra & quos pagina versat,
Foedera legitimi dicantur adultera lecti?
Hinc num nata haeres, priuetur iure paterno,
Tanquam illegitimo processerit aedita lecto?
Ergo satis docuit clarè diuina potestas
Maiestasque Dei, Numen reuerentur habendum,

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could petition with an overly ambitious spirit and arrogant mind what you, Emperor Charles [v] then had happened to deny him, those things which lead to promotion to the college of cardinals, so that he could become the highest bishop. Then at least the king did think that under the name of the bishops the stone was being moved from its firm seat towards uncertainty: and that for himself was called into doubt what was certain before: anxious from the falsehood, wallowing in his much disturbed mind, teetering, and uncertain of the decision towards her: and he revoked the heavenly decrees of his own voice, which inclined towards the judgment of a legitimate daughter and true heir and erratic he diverted to the other vow: from here error more and more implicated him, henceforth there was no limit on the number of wives he married and there was a further insatiable pledge of getting married, and the thirst of new love was pressing hard continually.

In these circumstances the Bishop of Rochester [John Fisher, 1469–1535] and Bii
More [Thomas More, 1478–1535], distinguished, learned and revered men with dignity, suddenly opposed him, and refuted such a shameful deed and sin. Why should it not be allowed for the brother to marry the virgin once she has been released by law? Or even if such a consummation of the marriage were known, but with no offspring left behind, or a sign of pregnancy, should there be no dispensation and nourishing power of the highest Bishop in such things? What scripture forbids that? What law contradicts that? A woman marries her lord, is then freed by law, then she may wish for some man, is not bound by law, unless [there is] a law expressed in writing or something well agreed in custom, but ancient law itself commands that the wife of a brother in sterile wedlock, in which the other brother marries her, after the death of the brother, to rouse the hesitant fruit. Though not for that reason are these things recounted, that the law itself in public, or the use of custom, could have made legitimate and that the wedding was valid, but it can be demonstrated that they were married by another way. Above all, reply, you doctors learned in law, whom the sacred page bothers, are adulterous unions not called legitimate wedding beds? Surely the born heir is not deprived of her fatherly right, just as if a bastard had proceeded from an illegitimate bed?

Therefore the divine power and majesty of God has taught sufficiently clearly, and they revere the Godhead, which is to be considered all at once

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Atque Potestates, leges, diuinaque iura:
Legitimumque torum temerandum tempore nullo:
Et quos coniunxit Deus atque Ecclesia sancta,
Non disiungendos humanis legibus vnquam.
Nunquid ad extremum vacuata est gratia mundum
Bii(v) Numinis aeterni: & clausa infinita Potestas
Limite conscripto diuexi temporis arcto,
Et vinclis substricta iacet, vecòrsue quiescit,
Edere iam nulla vt possit miracula rerum?
Nec coeleste iubar rutilus diffundere Titan
Amplius? & nusquam virtus diuina refulget
Rebus in humanis? coeli vis nulla fugatis
Ignescit tenebris, inflammatura fauillis
Fulgida sopitos humano in pectore sensus?
Nullaque sentitur nostris infusa supernae
Corporibus mentis virtus, vrgensque potestas,
Vibrans internos occulto cuspide motus?
Nunquid & in finem, non audit vota suorum
Ad se clamantum miserè noctesque, diesque,
Optimus ille Pater coelestis? nunquid & ipsos
Destituit desolatos, mundoque relictos?
Nunquam vindictam faciet Deus ipse suorum,
Effera quos rabies ac saepe cruenta tyrannis,
Afflixit vasti varijs in tractibus orbis?
Aspice propositum exemplum, speculumque coruscans
Reginae Mariae, quàm mirè hanc desperatam
Restituit regno. Nihil hic tibi nempe videris
Cernere diuinae vis, coelestisque parentis
Virtutis? miri nihil? & nihil omine dignum
Mirando, Superum quod sola potentia voluit,
Arcana virtute mouens, genioque virenti
Semper ineuitabiliter, fatoque seuero?
Quae fuit humano tot desolata per annos
Omni consilio, auxilioque, ope, speque relicta,
Sola velut volitans sub tecto passer aperto:
Sola velut vastis eremis vnica Phoenix:
Biii Sola velut tristi cum Iob desedit & atro
Pro foribus. fimo, cunctis despectus amicis:
Fugere hanc omnes noti sic atque propinqui,
Ac cuncti solium, qui tum regale secuti.

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rulers, laws, and divine rights: and the lawful bed is to be violated at no time: and whomever God and the sacred Church have brought together, cannot be parted by human laws at any time.

Does the grace of the Eternal God not extend to the most extreme parts of the earth and | surely his infinite Power does not lie closed by a boundary written into the confines of narrow time, constricted in chains, inactive, destitute of reason, so that it was unable to perform miracles of things? And surely I, the golden Titan, am not ordered to spread out any more of my celestial radiance? And on no occasion will divine virtue glitter upon human affairs? And no strength of heaven light up the fleeing shadows, the glittering strength that is about to enflame the dormant senses in the human breast with its sparks? And will no virtue, infused with His will, be felt in our bodies, and His power which urges and stirs our inner movements with a hidden spear? Is it possible in the end, that the noblest heavenly Father not hear the prayers of his own proclaiming to Him desperately, in the night and in the day? And is it possible He leaves destitute the desolate themselves, and the forsaken in this world? Will God himself never make vindication of His own, whom savage madness and often cruel tyranny have afflicted in diverse regions of the vast world? Bii(v)

Behold a proposed example, the gleaming mirror of Queen Mary, whom He, in her hopeless state, marvellously restored to the kingdom. Do you really not seem to be seeing anything of divine power here, and of the virtue of the heavenly parent? Nothing wondrous? Nothing worthy of a sign of admiration, which the heavenly power alone willed, moving with secret excellence, and with inevitably always vigorous genius, and with harsh fate? She who was for so many years destitute from all human advice, and from help, and power, and after hope was abandoned, alone like a sparrow flying under an open roof, alone like a single Phoenix in vast deserts: | Alone, just as when Job sat before the doors in squalid dirt, scorned by all his friends:[3] thus all relatives and nobles flew away, as did all who previously supported the royal throne. Biii

3 Job 2:11–13 through to Job 12:4, in particular Job 12:4.

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Vt quae declarata fuit, reputataque cunctis
Non regni esse haeres: veluti non aedita vero
Coniugio: verum licet esset, legitimumque:
Et quam pro nihilo fere totus habebat vbique
Iam regni populus, pariter Proceresque, Ducesque,
Persuasu ac iussu Regis dictante seueri,
Dogmate delusi mendaci, erronis iniqui,
Ast haeres regni, viuenti coniuge prima
Esse potest nemo, post irrita vota creatus
Coniugij primi ac veri, fideique perennis:
Quod solum semper ius monstrat habere vigorem.
Nullum nanque [namque] potest post primum dicier esse
Legitimum, quod lex & sancta Ecclesia firmet,
Inter adhuc viuos, vxore superstite prima.
Nam qui legitima sine causa, foedera primae
Reppulit, atque aliam duxit, post foedera rupta
Deinde aliam aut rursum plures viuente priore
Nemo potest verè sic natus dicier haeres:
Vt nequeunt etiam connubia talia verè
Legitimo contracta modo esse ac foedere dici:
Foedera diuino si iure ligata requiras.
Nunquid enim poterit, vetito consistere nexu
Connubium verum? aut soboles, quae nascitur inde,
Ius tenet vt fundos haereditet illa paternos?
Stante etenim primo, vetitus lege omnis habetur
Nexus & alterius mors soluit sola priorem:
Non homo, non lex vlla Dei, non vlla potestas,
Biii(v) Quamlibet excellens humana habeatur & alta.
Aut nisi communis quantum ad commercia lecti:
Sic tamen vt maneat post hoc innuptus vterque
Nam seu connubium fuit ante iure solutum,
Seu minus, & tamen ad connubia deinde volasti
Altera, viuenti periurus coniuge prima,
Efficis vt nullus, si quis tibi nascitur, haeres [heres]
Legitimus sit, vel praeiudicet inde priori:
Restrictam legum si vim rimeris, & arctè
Iuris naturam diuini inspexeris ipsam.
Nam primo haeredi ius solum competit ipsi,
Legitima & vera nato de coniuge prima,
Post fatum verò alterius, mox soluitur alter,

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When she at that time was declared and reputed by all not to be the heir of royal power, just as if she had not been begot from true wedlock although it was true and legitimate: and the whole population everywhere, together with the Nobles and Dukes, held her to be worth practically nothing, citing the persuasion and order of the stern King, who had been deceived by false doctrine, of unjust error, but the heir of royal power nobody can be, having been created after the vows of no effect in the first and true wedding and in perennial faith, while his first wife is still alive: which law alone always shows to hold vigour. For no wedding between those alive today after the first can be called legitimate, which the law and the sacred Church confirm, while the first wife survives. For, who without legitimate cause, refuted the bonds of the first wife and married another wife, after the marriage bonds had been destroyed, then no child can truly be called heir: and furthermore such marriages cannot truly be called closed in a legitimate manner and in contract, if you ask for marriages bound in divine justice. For surely a real marriage cannot rest upon a forbidden bond? Or do offspring, who were thenceforth produced, hold the right that they inherit their father's estates? For when the first marriage still stands, then every bond is considered forbidden by law and only death solves the first bond to the other wife: may no man, not any law of God, not any power, | be considered so high Biii(v)
and human or, as far as pertains to the intercourse of a communal bed: despite that both remain unmarried after this, or that the marriage was dissolved in accordance with law before it or not quite, and next you nevertheless flew to another wedding, lying under oath because the first wife is still alive, you effect that no heir, if one is born to you, is legitimate or that it is injurious to the firstborn: if you probe the severe strength of the laws, and closely examine the very nature of divine law. For the law only agrees to the first heir himself, to the child born from the legitimate, true, and first wife, but after the death of the first,

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Legitimè vt cuicunque volet tunc nubere possit,
Et sit legitimus, proles quae nascitur, haeres [heres],
Omnis & ex aequo succedat iure parenti.
Interea castae pia conuersatio vitae.
Dulcis simplicitas, dulcis patientia semper,
Votum virgineum, atque preces, deuotio sancta,
Et spes in domino dulcis, pietasque puellam
Sanctam exercebat, feruensque in pectore virtus,
Desuper aeterni defusa a lumine patris:
Sedula coelestum atque ardens meditatio rerum.
Hanc Deus omnipotens vt veram legitimamque
Et primam haeredem, praeter spem, praeter & omnem
Humanum sensum, & quod caeca opinio falsò
Fouit iudicium, tetra caligine pulsa,
Eruit è tenebris, reuocatque in iura paterna,
Illi legitimo titulo, iustoque parentis,
Atque alij, hanc praeter, nunc ipso debita nulli
Iure, vt qua sola modo nemo propinquior extet.
Biv In regnumque suum successu ac morte volutum
Ad se, restituit: cui conseruauit honorem,
Et sceptrum & solium, sacrum diademaque regni,
Atque potestatem regnandi iure supremam.
Namque super iusti caput est benedictio coeli,
AEternique patris, vitae praecepta beatae.
'Iustus enim vt Deus est, sic iustam, legitimamque
Excludi de iure suo, regnoque paterno,
Noluit haeredem: atque ideo in sua iura reduxit.
Sola igitur manet haec, sola omni iure probatur
Haeres legitimè regni Regina paterni:
Ad quod, si recto deducas stemmata tractu,
Plenius & potius ius nulli competit alteri.
Id quod & ipse Deus manifesto, in luce corusca,
Edocuit facto, frustratis omnibus vnam
Restituens inopinato post nubila regno
Tempora, & afflictam furioso turbine vitam.'
Haec sunt illa stupenda Dei miracula rerum,
(Nam Deus omne opus ipse facit mirabile solus)
Destruat vt quae sunt: quae non, vt protinus extent:
Atque vt celsa cadant: humile in sublime leuetur:
Submissa assurgant: inflata, superba labascant:

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the other is quickly concluded, so that one could then marry legitimately whomever one wishes, and offspring, which is born, would be a legitimate heir, and each child might lawfully take their parent's place.

Meanwhile let there be a pious conduct of a pure life. Sweet simplicity, sweet patience always, virginal vow, and prayers, sacred devotion, and sweet hope in the lord, and piety trains a sacred woman, and virtue burning in her soul, being poured out from the light of the eternal father above: attentive of heaven and passionate meditation of things.

What a true and legitimate and first heir, without hope, without all human consideration, expelled by repulsive darkness because blind opinion falsely favoured a judgement, did omnipotent God extract from the shadows and call back to her paternal rights, to that legitimate and just title of her father, and to the things now owed to no one else in law itself but her, so that just now there is no one closer than she alone. And having been enveloped in death, her Biv
own kingdom is restored to her in the outcome: to who conserved honour, and the sceptre and the sacred throne, and the diadems of the kingdom, and the supreme power of legitimate rule. For on her hand is the benediction of just heaven and our eternal Father, lessons for a blessed life.

Indeed God is so just that He refused that the just and the legitimate heir was excluded from her own right and her father's kingdom: and therefore He restored her to her rightful place. Therefore she alone remains, the Queen alone is the heir of her father's kingdom legitimately approved of by every law: to which, if you draw up the genealogical trees from the direct line, the law abundantly and clearly supports no other. This also is what God himself taught, in flashing light, and in manifest fact, restoring her alone to an unexpected kingdom when all else had been frustrated, after a cloudy time and a life afflicted with a furious storm.

These are the miracles of God's works which are designed to be marvelled at (For God himself alone makes every work miraculous) things exist so that he can destroy them; things are not, so that they can exist at once and so that high things fall down: the low is raised to sublimity: so that things put low may

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Vt magna in nihilum: nihil vtque in magna resurgat:
Pauper vt adscitus solium regale gubernet:
Rex vt praecipiti casu voluatur ad ima,
Pellaturque suo tristi luctamine regno.
Eligit infirmum Deus atque ignobile & insons,
Et vile & stolidum atque humile & contemptile mundi,
Brutum & iners, stupidum atque asinina simplicitate.
Quodque est innocuum, quod deridetur ab omni,
Vt stultum, indoctum, ignarum, miserum, rude, ineptum.
Biv(v) Sic res humanas diuina potentia cunctas,
Arbitrio regit ipsa suo: sic sola gubernat.
Haec homo mundanus, sensu ad diuina supino,
Illecebris animo fracto, luxuque soluto,
Atque voluptati addicto, ventrisque, gulaeque,
Et cui sola sapit vani sapientia mundi,
Diuitiae vt crescant, possessio, splendor, honorque:
Et Satanae seruo, miranda opera atque stupenda,
Non capit ipse Dei, nec cor apponere curat.
Sic & in hac virtus ac conuersatio vitae
Sancta inculpatae: sic blanda modestia morum
Ipsa notata Deo, castae sua regna puellae
Debita legitimè, post tempora longa reseruat:
Aptae nempe quidem cunctis bene restituentis
In melius rebus, fuerant quae seditiose
Vndique turbatae, tum sacrae, tumque prophanae,
Organa per Satanae, variosque, grauesque tumultus,
Politia tulit quos, atque Ecclesia sancta:
Relligioque nouis, quibus est vexata procellis:
Intestina lues, quando incrudescere dira
Seditione vagè coepit, totumque tumultu
Concutere horrendo regnum, plebemque furenti
Accendit studio in diuersa, errore volutam
Multiplici, postquam de Ecclesiae foedere sanctae
Discessum in varias est prono pectore sectas,
Ecclesiae nullas sanctae quas vnio nouit.
Nam serit has solus Satanas, pacisque, quietisque,
Hostis, & humanae inuisor, pestisque salutis
Maxima: qui nunquam fert vllo tempore pacem
Mortales inter miseros: sinit ille nec vnquam
Concordes animos, sed in odia dira cruentus

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be raised: things are inflated, so that arrogant things totter: so that great things turn into nothing: and nothing may come to life again in great things: so that the pauper may govern the royal throne once he has acquired it: so that the King may fall all the way down in a headlong drop, and might be driven out in sorrowful struggle from his kingdom. God chooses what is weak and ignoble and guiltless, and common and dull and low the contemptable of the world, and brutish and helpless, stupid and with ass-like simplicity. And what is innocent, what is derided by all as foolish, unlearned, ignorant, miserable, rude, and inept. In this way divine power herself governs all human affairs according to Biv(v)
His will. The worldly man, with a sense bent against these divine things, with mind broken by allurements, and undone by luxury, and addicted to pleasure, of the belly, and of the gullet, and to what only knowledge of the vain world knows, how riches arise, property, splendour, and office: and as the servant of Satan, he himself cannot take in the miraculous and marvellous works of God, nor lay his heart open to Him. Thus in her [i.e. Mary] there is a sacred virtue and manner of a blameless life, and thus the gentle restraint of manners itself is observed by God, after a long time she regains her kingdoms, legitimately owed to a chaste girl: indeed even after all things had been properly restored for the better to their rightful owner, the State and the Holy Church tolerated those varied and grave uproars by means of instruments of stormy, detested, and profane Satan, who seditiously were everywhere: and religion was shaken by new storms: a domestic plague, when it began to become fierce with dreadful sedition, and the whole kingdom to shake in terrible commotion, and it aroused the common people with raging zeal in diverse directions, having been enveloped in multitudinous errors, after the kingdom wholeheartedly moved away from the bond of the Holy Church into various sects, none of which the unity of the Holy Church recognises. For Satan alone sows these, the enemy of peace and of quiet, and the visitor of the greatest plagues to human salvation: who never at any time brings peace among poor mortals: who never permits unanimous

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Sulphurea inflammat mota face saepe tyrannus.
Ci Censuit hanc solam diuinum Numen olympi,
Omnibus his deducendis, meliusque regendis,
Dignam, & quae solij portet diadema paterni:
Per quam totius faciem, statutaque regni
Clara reflorerent, legesque fidesque redirent,
Foelicesque dies, tranquillaque tempora pace
Riderent dulci: sacra atque prophana vigerent
Ordine quaeque suo, ac statu Respublica sancto.
Per quam sic voluit regnum in sua prisca reponi
Commoda, & in veterem, pulsa caligine statum,
E medio turbis ac seditione furenti,
Et fidei sectis, grassanti peste, fugatis:
Idque nouo, sibi dilecto sub Rege Philippo,
Principe Castelli, clarus quem mittit Iberus,
Qui vagus Herculeas vasto se gurgite in vndas
Voluit, vbi oppositam calpe [calpae] prospectat Abylam:
Virtute illustrem, magno de Caesare natum,
Quemque illi voluit Deus associare maritum,
Ingenio, studioque pari, morumque decore:
Publica subducta versantem commoda mente:
Atque excelsa simul virtutum insignia semper
Corde volutantem: Numen coeleste verentem:
Insignem pietate virum, virtute decorum:
Sublimi ingenio, sollerti, magnanimoque:
Munificum suprà, quàm dici possit, in omnes:
Clementem, facilem, placidumque, hilaremque benignum,
Et qualem verè decet inclyta regia corda.
Iam quoque prosapiae seriem mihi, Musa, duorum
Horum regnorum memora, nexusque propinquos
Sanguinis: vt generisque sciam vicina vtriusque
Vincula, quóve gradu duo sic iungantur in vnum.
Inclyta progenies, longè antiquissima Regum
Horum, quos retuli, quater vno est ordine iuncta,
Ci(v) Hinc annos intra quadraginta atque trecentos:
Quaeque modo accedit, generis connectio quinta est,
Numinis aeterni veniens nutu, atque fauore,
Sanctificata quidem numerosa in commoda regni.
Fernandi Tertij, Castelli filia Regis, 1
Forma praestanti, Leonora & nomine virgo,

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minds, but the bloodthirsty tyrant who often kindles them to dire hatreds, at the flick of his sulphurous torch.

The divine God of heaven thought her alone worthy of leading all these Ci
people and of ruling well and that she might carry the crown of her father's throne: by her very presence the famous statutes of the entire kingdom reflourished, and laws and faith returned, as did happy days, and the tranquil times smiled back in sweet peace: sacred and profane things grew strong, all in their own holy order and in Commonwealth. Through her the kingdom thus wanted to be restored to its old and beneficial manners and its old state, darkness having been banished, from the middle of a storm and raging sedition, and sects, a plague to faith that creeps ever closer, having been scared away: and this, under the new King Philip, beloved by Him, the Prince of Castille, whom famous Iberia sent, who wandering became enveloped in a vast whirlpool in the Herculean waters, when he saw Abyla in the distance, opposite Calpe:[4] illustrious in virtue, character, with equal eagerness, and decency of morals, born from that great Caesar, God wished to join him to her as her husband: always with consideration contemplating the public good: and at the same time always turning over the high marks of virtues in his heart: revering the heavenly God: a man eminent in piety, and decorous in virtue: in high nature, in cleverness, and in braveness: beyond bountiful to all, if it is possible to be said: merciful, courteous, and gentle, and of kind cheer, and who truly fits celebrated royal hearts.

Now also the order of family to me, Muse, be mindful of these two royal powers, and their blood-relations [lit. the neighbouring connections of blood]: so that I might know the neighbouring bonds of either's birth, and thus from which position the two are united as one.

The celebrated families, long most ancient of these kings, whom I have dis-
cussed, is bound four times within one row, | from here for 340 years, and which Ci(v)
approaches in manner, to be the fifth connection of birth, coming by the command of the eternal divine will, and favour, and indeed to the numerous holy profits of the kingdom.

1. The daughter of Ferdinand III the King of Castile [1217–1252], with beautiful appearance, a maiden by the name Eleanor [of Castile, Queen of

4 Calpis Mons or Calpe is a rocky promontory in the southwest part of Spain, otherwise known as the Rock of Gibraltar or the European Pillar of Hercules; Abyla (or Abila Mons) is another of the Pillars of Hercules, the identity of which is likely either a low mountain now known as Monte Hacho, which overlooks the Spanish city of Ceuta, or Jebel Musa in Morocco.

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Anno milleno Domini de Virgine nati
Atque ducenteno penitus, decimoque peracto,
Anglorum Regi, fuit hoc qui nomine primus,
Eduardo nupsit: fuit haec coniunctio prima.
Altera, Iohannes cognomine Gandauensis, 2
Filius Eduardi, cui tunc Constantia nupsit,
Petri Crudelis, Castelli filia Regis.
Tertia erat, quando Catharinam Gandauensis 3
Duxit Iohannis natam Rex Castilianus
Tertius Henricus. Iam quarta, propagine eadem 4
Filia Catholici Regis fuit, atque Isabellae,
Henrico octauo, Catherina haec nomine, nupsit.
Quae germana tuae fuerat soror, optime Caesar,
Matris, adhuc saluam ducit quae hoc tempore vitam.
Hinc Maria haec surgit, praesens Regina creata,
Inclyta postremi soboles ac gloria Regis
Henrici, & dictae Catherinae nata superstes:
Nempe haeres regni sola, vnica vera paterni.
Quae cùm magnanimo nupsit Regina Philippo,
Hesperiae Heroi clarae & totius Iberi,
Castelli Regi, patris post fata futuro,
Efficit eiusdem vt generis coniunctio quinta 5
Promineat, semperque gradu vertatur eodem
Sanguinis in nexus, Reges hos inter eosdem.
Haec igitur tibi sufficiant de nexib[us] horum
Regnorum ac Regum, breuiter retulisse duorum.
Atque haec sit tanti, ratio tibi & vnica causa,
Cii Principis aduentus, per tot discrimina vecti,
Numinis impulsu, fixa ad complenda supernae
Fata voluntatis: trahitur qua quicquid vbique est
Semper ineuitabiliter, serieque perenni.
Haec tua tam magni monstrans solennia festi
Visio caelestis, pregnanti Numine plena:
Connubio stabili, duo quo iunguntur in vnum,
Maxima magnorum capita, in bona publica, Regum.
Et sanctas capiant, vno sub Principe, leges
Plurima regna simul, quae sic rediguntur in vnum,
Diuina sub lege caput, regimenque perenne.
Rex post ha[e]c sit vt vnus: lex vna: vna fidesque,
Restituat veteri qui sedulus omnia paci:

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England, 1241–1290], born in the thousandth and two hundredth year of the birth of the Lord from the Virgin, and with the tenth entirely completed married the King of England, Edward [I, 1239–1307], who was the first by his name: this made the first connection.

2. The second, John with the surname of Gaunt [Duke of Lancaster, 1340–1299], son of Edward [III, of England, 1313–1377], to whom was married Constance, daughter of Peter the Cruel the King of Castile [1350–1366].
3. The third was when Henry III King of Castile [1379–1406] married Catherine [of Lancaster, 1393–1406] who was born of John of Gaunt.
4. Now the fourth, was the daughter from the same line of the Catholic King [Ferdinand II, 1452–1516], and of Isabella [I, of Castile, 1451–1504], and married Henry VIII [1491–1547], by the name Catherine [of Aragon, 1485–1536]. Who had been a sister, oh noblest Caesar [Charles V], of your own mother [Joanna of Castile, 1479–1555], who leads to this point in time a healthy life.
5. Henceforth this Maria rose to prominence, having been presently created Queen, celebrated offspring and glory of the latest King Henry, and the surviving child of the aforementioned Catherine: truly the sole, one and true heir of her father's kingdom. This Queen is married to the brave Phillip, Hero of Illustrious Spain and the whole of Iberia, King of Castile, in the future, after his father's demise, brings about that the fifth conjunction of the same ancestry extends to, and always is turned towards connections of blood in the same degree, between these same Kings.

May these things about the connections between these kingdoms and two kings therefore suffice for you, to have narrated them briefly. And this is of such importance, the reason for you, and the only cause, | the arrival of the Prince, Cii
having travelled through so many dangers, by the incitement of divine will, fate having been fastened to the completion of heavenly will: by which everything is always unavoidably drawn everywhere, and in everlasting succession. This is a heavenly vision showing your ceremonial rites, proper to such a great feast, full of pregnant divine will: the two greatest heads of two great states enter upon firm marriage, by which two are united into one, for the public good. And may many kingdoms at the same time take up the holy laws, under one prince, so that they thus are reduced unto one person and an eternal rule under divine law. May whoever is devout restore all things to their old peace so that there

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Tranquillosque dies & dulcia tempora vitae
Felicis, ducant vno sub Principe cuncti.
Ergo noui nihil haec tantorum iunctio Regum,
Sanguinis haec series si tanta est, tamque vetusta
Atque propinqua sibi, totiesque in foedera tracta,
Et totes mixtus cognati sanguinis vsus,
Hos inter Reges. Vulgi nunc publicus error
Subsistat, magis & non demiretur in vnum
Regna coìsse duo: quàm summam, perpetuamque
Iustitiam voluisse Dei, iusto atque decente
Ordine, legitimo successu, legibus aequis,
Haec regna ad veros, delusa erroris iniqui
Perfidia, haeredi rapuit quae iura propinquae,
Devolui haeredes. Haec sola & iusta voluntas
Admiranda Dei, disponens omnia iustè.
Tum quoque miretur populus simul omnis & illud,
Vnica tam saeuos potuit quod foemina motus,
Ferbuit horrendè incensum quibus vndique regnum,
Tollere & in veterem mox cuncta reponere pacem.
Nunquid enim tantos compescere foemina fluctus
Cii(v) Et tantas potuit flammas, aestusque furentes,
Foemina nullius fermè quae nominis esset,
Ni cum ipsa Numen verè caeleste fuisset?
Sic Regina potens Maria, & tu Carole Caesar,
Cuius nempe parens vtriusque, fuêre sorores,
Tantundem Angliacae ferè iuris vterque coronae
Affertis: nec tu multò minus inde Philippe:
Induperatorem, quem summum à Patre futurum,
Nomine sub magno, cùm nuper carmine dixi,
Num quid deliqui? Osoris cur lingua maligni,
Inuidiae tetrae, feruenti tincta veneno,
Ludit vt insanum hoc nostro de pectore verbum
In versum lapsum? tanquam sint cuncta futura
Lege sub indubia, scribunt quaecunque Poëtae:
Nullàve ludendi sit, fingendive potestas
Vatibus, ac libertas hoc sit tempore nulla:
Quamuis non rarò soleant praedicere verum.
Forsitan hic certò caeli sic viua potestas
Perpetuat seriem stabilem, immotamque manentem
Aeternò: sic vrget ineuitabile fatum,

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may be from now on one king, one law and one faith: and may all together bring back quiet days and sweet times of a happy life under one prince.

There is therefore nothing new about this bond of such great rulers, if only how great are these successions of blood, and so ancient related to each other, and how often bonds have been drawn, and how often the familiarity of related blood was mixed between these Kings. Now the common error of the common rabble might halt and one will no longer be amazed that two kingdoms have coalesced into one: how the highest and perpetual justice of God wished these kingdoms for the true believers, in a just and pleasing order, with the legitimate succession, in equitable laws, the perfidy of the unjust error having been deluded that the laws, which perfidy had snatched away from a related heir, were given back to their heirs. This is the one and true will, which must be admired, of God, who dispenses all things justly. Then also might the entire population be amazed at the same time at this, that a singular woman could undo such savage upheavals, through which the kingdom, on fire everywhere, was horribly seething and quickly restore everything to its former peace. Indeed could a woman even have calmed such floods | and flames, and raging agitation, Cii(v)
a woman who was almost of no name, if the heavenly God had not truly been on her side?

Thus mighty Queen Mary, and you Caesar Charles, of whom the mother of each were sisters, you lay almost the same claim to the English crown: and you, hence, no less so, Philip: an Emperor, who will be the highest by the Father, under his great name, which thing I recently proclaimed in a song, and surely, did I err? Why does the tongue of an evil hater, of foul dislike, imbued with boiling poison, play that an insane word has lapsed from our heart into our verse? Just as all might be under future undoubted law, the Poet writes all that: May there not be any power of playing or lying for poets and no license at this time: although they are not rarely in the habit of foretelling the truth. Perhaps here with the certainty of heaven, thus the living power perpetuates a stable succession and everlasting inflexible enduring: thus pressing unavoidable fate,

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Vt Tirollaeis veniat de rupibus ille,
Inferat insanis, qui excidia dira Tyrannis
Tum Mahometanis, tumque ipsis foedere iunctis.
Hoc ita stat firmè, vt rupes Alpina futurum:
Hinc qui vexatum belli tot cladibus orbem,
Hostib[us] antiquae victis dabit omnia paci.
Quid vis? num summo impones tu frena Tonanti,
Vt diuina cadat non fortè expleta voluntas?
Aeternusque Dei voluatur vt ordo retrorsum?
Effectuque suo priuentur fata superna,
Quae semel omnipotens fatus, decreuit vt essent?
Stant immobilibus quae aeterna in saecula punctis?
Quae voluit fieri, contra si concitus orbis
Ciii Consurgat totus, simul & flagrantis auerni,
Impia de densis erumpat turba tenebris?
'Porr'ge manus ergo, sequere & quocunque vocaris.
Imperium te nanque manet, licet ipse recuses
Imperij Maiestatem, nomenque supremum,
Collaque subtractes prudens & cautus ab ipso
Et circumspectus: neque & ambitione feraris
Huius, vt inuidia hac careas ac pondere tanto
Rerum tantarum, impensis, varijsque periclis:
Innumeris curis, infinitisque procellis:
Et tantò maior sis hoc sine culmine Princeps.
Prudens consilium, refuga ceruice decoris
Oblatum detrectat onus: via tuta quietis.
At si tu nolis, erit ex patruelibus vnus:
Quem post deinde tuus vel filius ille gubernet
Carolulus, qui dicitur indolis esse stupendae
Pro puero, ingenij diuino Numine pleni:
Aut alius quisquam de stemmate natus eodem.
Non etenim inuitum rapit ad sublimia quenquam
Atque reluctantem, diuinum Numen Olympi.
Attamen vt prosis, cur nolles sumere fasces?
Quò vocat ipse Deus, decet vt per cuncta sequamur.
Sicque renitentem nunc te, moderamina anhelant,
Suppostis [suppositis] humeris tibi tantam imponere molem,
Quae tibi debetur refugo, maiorque potestas,
Cuncta trahens summam, quae continet orbis, in vnam.
Germano Imperium deberi, dicere par est.
Quis dicit contra? caput hoc Germania summum

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so that he comes down from the rocks of Tyrol, who brings dire destruction to insane tyrants, and to Muslims, and to those bound to them by an alliance. Let this future stand firm, like the Alpine rock: hence it is he who will give the world, ravaged by so many disasters of bar, will give everything back to ancient peace, after its enemies have been defeated. What do you want? Now will you impose bridles upon the greatest Thunderer, so that divine will falters, unfulfilled? So that the eternal order of God is rolled backwards? Might heavenly fate be robbed of its execution which, once the Omnipotent has uttered it, He has decreed to be that way? Will these things stand still at fixed points in eternal ages? What things did he wish to happen if all the shaken-up world rises against Him, and at the same time the godless crowd of burning Hell bursts out of the thick darkness? | Therefore hold out your hands, follow Him even wherever Ciii
you are summoned. For the command awaits you, though, granted, you might yourself reject the majesty of his command, and his supreme name, you may cautiously, carefully, and with due consideration remove your neck from this and may you not be carried away by the ambition of this, so that you might lack this envy and so great weight of such great things, and from the costs and various dangers: from the innumerable concerns, and from the boundless storms: and may you be a greater prince than this, without such a high point. Let a deserter decline prudent council, the burden of decency removed from his neck: the entire road is one of quiet. But if you refuse, one on your father's side will do it: After you then even that famous son of yours, Charles, might govern, who is declared to be of astounding innate character even for a boy, of nature full of divine will: or another who was born from the same genealogical tree. Indeed the divine will of God does not carry off the reluctant and the resisting to any heights. Nevertheless, as you might profit, why be unwilling to take up power? Where God himself is calling, it is fitting that we follow in all circumstance. And thus the helm desires you, though you are now unwilling to take upon your shoulders such a big burden, which is owed to you, though you flee from it, and greater power which draws all things which the world contains into the one great mass.

It is reasonable to say that the Empire is owed to a German. Who says otherwise? Germany alone holds this highest person and she alone can provide

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Sola tenet, praestare potest & sola cui vult,
Sit modo Germanus, si vult modo legib[us] vti
De Imperij summo statuendo Principe latis.
Nunquid tu non Germanus? non de patre natus
Germano? sequitur soboles num iura parentis
Ciii(v) Foemineae? quae iura canunt, lex quaeve iubet sic?
Forsitan an patris ius quaeuis Natio tollit,
In qua fortuitò vel fit, vel nascitur infans?
Vel caput est mulier, quae ducitur, ipsa mariti,
Vt ius foemineum, qui nascitur, inde sequatur?
Et generi nomen, non vir, sed foemina praestet?
Ridiculè contrà sic caeca ac lurida semper
Inuidia insurgit: sic lucida lumina Phoebi
Ferre nequit quisquis ratione nec vtitur aequa.
Nunc ergo exultans, ô felix Anglia, surge,
Anglia quae meritò posses ab origine dici
Angelica, vt si candorem, geniumque vetustae
Gentis perspicias & plurima commoda terrae
Atque situm, veluti si sit paradisus amoenus,
Incolat angelicus quem caelo missus ab alto
Cultor: quaeque tuis diues, contentaque viuis,
Indiga nullius, si vis, quod continet orbis.
Vincere quam Caesar poterat non Iulius ille,
Ille triumphator, debellatorque superbus,
Sic vt ibi sceptrum regni, sedemque teneret,
Contremuit totus sub cuius viribus orbis:
Adque fidem Christi primis conuersa sub annis,
Plurima ad aethereas transmiseris agmina sedes.
Nunc ergo exultans, ô felix Anglia, surge:
Quae conscissa malis miserè & concussa iacebas,
Pessum fortunam iam nunc itura sub imam,
Quae fueras, expertura & miserabile fatum:
Ni te festinus Deus aspexisset ab alto
Clementi vultu, casus miseratus acerbos:
Accumula laudes Domino, eructaque profundo
Pectore dulce melos, cantus, hymnosque canoros.
Et grates persolue pias, persolue decentes
Aeterno Patri pro tantis, tamque stupendis,
Civ Te quibus affecit donis, iam penè iacentem,
'Implicitam immensis erroribus atque ruinis

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him and to whom she wants, but let him just be German, and only if he is willing to use the widespread laws about the establishment of the highest Prince of the empire. Is it possible you are not German? Not born from a German father? Does the offspring follow the laws of the | female parent? Which laws are crowing, which law commands thus? Can it perhaps be that some country lifts the right of the father, which happens either by chance, or a child being born? Or is the wife herself head of her husband, whoever is born follows female law thereafter? And the family name not the man, but instead the woman supplies? On the other hand, thus envy always arises ridiculously, blind and lurid. Thus someone cannot bear the bright light of Phoebus, nor use fair logic. Ciii(v)

Now therefore exulting, O happy England, rise! England, you might deservedly be called angelic from your origin, because if you observe the radiance and genius of [your] ancient nation and the greatest number of commodities of the land and position, just as if it is a beautiful paradise, which the angelic inhabitant sent from the high heavens: for you live richly and contented, lacking of nothing, if you wish, because your country preserves you. A country which Julius Caesar himself was unable to conquer, that triumphant and haughty conqueror so that he there held the sceptre and seat of royal power, under whose powers all the world trembled: and in those first years were converted to the faith of Christ, and the greatest number of your flock were transmitted to heavenly residences.

Now therefore exulting, O happy England, rise! You lie destroyed by evil and broken in ruins, you are now about to go down, under the lowest fate, which you have been, and are about to experience a miserable fate: if the Lord had not quickly gazed upon you with a merciful expression from above having pitied bitter cases: accumulate praise for the Lord, emit songs, chants, and melodious hymns from the depth of your breast. And pay pious thanks, pay fitting thanks to your eternal father in return for so many, such astounding gifts which he has brought about for you, | now almost lying in ruins, having been entangled in immense errors and having been shaken with your Civ

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Concussam propriis, ruerent tibi vt omnia pessum.
Odia feruerent toto crudelia regno,
Seditio funesta ac coniuratio tetra,
Per Proceres regni, capita ac primaria passim.
Plebs in diuersum rabido confusa tumultu,
Impia tentaret: misceret sacra prophanis,
Atque potestati auderet se opponere summae,
Concionatorum doctrina imbuta maligna.
Atque simultates & pugna domestica totam
Te tibi distractam, in summa atque extrema malorum
Pertraherent miseram, proculcarentque iacentem.
De quibus eripuit summi te gratia Patris,
Te tibi restituens, nil forsan tale merentem:
Legitimam tibi conseruans, veramque paterni
Haeredem regni, deuicto errore maligno,
Atque simultate & tumidae ambitionis inani
Fastu, ac regnandi flagrante cupidine, tetri
Daemonis instinctu, caelo regnare volentis.'
Nunc ergo exultans, ô felix Anglia, surge,
Fausta tuo ac bene laeta preceris vt omnia Regi,
Felicemque illi aduentum gratulêre, secundum
Atque salutiferum: laetos age vbique triumphos:
Dulcibus ascitis choreas duc laeta puellis,
Plaudenti cythara: clanget tuba: buccina cantum
Edat: ventosi proflent sua carmina & vtres
Vicatim, ac fractos eructent cornua bombos
Rauca per excitum de operis, agrisque popellum:
Exulta, iubilaque, sali, cane carmen ouantis
Dulcisonum, laetumque iocosi pocula Bacchi
Tristiam excutiant, cunctis & gaudia portent.
Et sit festa dies: terat ocia grata popellus.
Civ(v) Nam non parua salus hodie tibi ad ostia venit
Trans mare nauifragum, velis, ventisque secundis:
Nec fortuna leuis, vulgari more reperta,
Appulit in faustum, ridenti gurgite, portum.
Pax tibi nanque & laeta quies, tranquillaque vitae
Dulcis libertas, ac verae Relligionis [Religionis]
Status, & antiquo viguit qui tempore cultus,
Quem sancti instituêre patres, exordia purae
Cùm caperet fidei primùm in te Ecclesia Christi,
Illuxêre simul, caelo demissa sereno.

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particular catastrophes, so that all was destroyed completely for you. Cruel hatred was seething throughout the entire kingdom, deadly sedition and foul conspiracy among the Nobles of the realm, and distinguished leaders everywhere. The confused impious people rushed in every direction with mad commotion: people mix the holy with the profane, and themselves dared to oppose the highest power, having been imbued with spiteful doctrine of demagogues. And hatreds and domestic warring have torn you, miserable one, apart, having been wholly ripped asunder, into the highest and most extreme of evil, and they kick someone who is already down. From which the grace of the highest Father rescued you, restoring you from yourself, perhaps not deserving such a thing: preserving the legitimate and true heiress of her father's kingdom for you, evil error, hatred, and inane scorn of swollen ambition having been defeated, and the burning desire to rule, and from the inspiration of the foul devil, who aspires to ruling in heaven.

Now therefore exulting, O happy England, rise, so that you might agreeably pray that all things are prosperous and happy for your King, and you might congratulate him on his happy, expeditious, and safe arrival: drive happy victory parades everywhere: happily lead choruses now that the sweet girls have been received, striking the lyre: the trumpet will sound: and the horn will emit song: bagpipes and raucous horns will belch out broken bellows among the people who have left their work and fields behind: jump about, shout joyfully, erupt, sing a sweet and happy song of rejoicing, the droll cups of Bacchus will shake off gloom, and bring in joys to all. And let there be a feast day: the people forget passing pleasures. | Now, no small safety, comes across the shipwrecking sea Civ(v)
to your doors for you today with sails and favourable winds: no light fortune, having been discovered in the usual way, drove him into a favourable port by a laughing whirlpool. And truly peace and joyous quiet to you, and a sweet and tranquil liberty of life, and a state of true Religion, and that form of worship which acquired strength in ancient time, which the holy fathers instituted, the beginnings of pure faith did begin to dawn at the same time, when the Church of Christ first took a hold in you, having been sent down from the serene heavens.

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Processêre viri illustres ac stemmate clari,
Grandaeuique patres, vultu, & grauitate verendi,
Primores Regni Status, Proceresque, Ducesque,
Maximi in aduentum atque excelsi Principis omnes,
Ad praeclara tuum spaciosum Hamptonia portum,
Et laetabundi, tales dant ore loquelas.

Magnanime, ô Princeps, magno de Caesare nate,
Huius iam nostri, claro, Rex inclyte, regni
Auspicio caeli, maiestatisque supernae,
Qua modo missus ades: qua conseruatus ab omni
Fortunae tristi casu, ac discrimine multo
Vi tempestatum, salebrosa per aequora vectus,
Fixerit ad nostras te donec anchora terras
Felici accessu, vento, laeto omine, & astris:
Aestibus euictis pelagi, vafrisque marini
Pyratae insidiis, aliisque per aequora monstris.
Quae tibi nunc omnes, sic euenisse secunda,
Ex votisque tuis, gratulamur: cuncta precantes
Fausta Deum posthac tibi Rex & prospera semper.
Nec minus hinc nobis talem gratulamur & ipsis
Et tantum Regem, caelesti Numine missum,
Te modo praesentem, Rex inclyte, Magne Philippe,
Ingenti retrò serie, claraque tuorum,
Di Qui numeras ortus illustres progenitorum
Induperatorum: qui regia stemmata longo
Ordine percenses, laudes, praeclaraque gesta:
Lumen maiorum atque decus: tibi pandimus omnes,
Quos tenet hoc regno, circumfluus vndique, portus,
Oceanus turres, arces, munitaque cuncta,
Et claras quascunque vrbes & quicquid vbique est,
Omne tibi reseramus & ad tua vota patere
Pro libito volumus, regnum hoc quod continet vsquam:
Inque tuas, Rex magne, manus hoc tradimus ipsum,
Vnà nobiscum, quanti sumus, atque quot intus
Viuimus inclusi eiusdem sub legibus omnes.
Cumque voles, regni dabimus tibi deinde coronam:
Quod nunc esse tuum volumus: nos & simul omnes
Esse tui cupimus, volumusque per omnia semper
Subiecti, populique humiles, serui atque clientes,
Ad quaecunque voles. Scimus nam non nisi iusta

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The [English] men who were illustrious and distinguished by heritage, and the patricians of great age, who must be respected for their appearance and dignity, the foremost of the kingdom, and the nobles and dukes, and all the men in the retinue of the greatest and most excellent Prince proceeded, to your spacious port in splendid Hampton [i.e. Southampton], and gave the following speeches.

> Oh Noble Prince, son of the great Caesar, celebrated King, of this, our kingdom, under the clear auspices of heaven and His divine majesty having been sent from there you arrive in such manner: kept safe from all sorrowful calamity of fortune, much danger, the violence of storms, having sailed the salty seas until your anchor fastened you to our lands with a successful arrival, happy wind, omen and stars: the swells of the sea and the sly ambushes of sea pirates, and other monsters in the sea having been overcome. We now all celebrate that these things have turned out so successfully for you, your wishes fulfilled praying to God that afterwards and always all things may be happy and prosperous for you, King. Hence we give no less thanks that such and so great a king be present for us such as you, famous King, Philip the Great, sent by the Divine Being, back in that vast and famous succession of yours, | you who count the illustrious births Di
> of ancestors who were Emperors, which royal heritage in long succession you enumerate, and the light and glory of your ancestors: and everything that is everywhere, we expose all to you and we wish to stand open to your vows, because this kingdom maintains them by any means: and into your hands, great King, we surrender this itself, together with each of us, of what number we are, and all of the number included live within under the laws of the same region. And when you will wish it, then we will give to you the crown of the kingdom: because now we wish to be yours: we all simultaneously long to be yours, and we wish in all things always to be made your subject, and a humble population, servants and clients, to whatever you will wish. For we understand that you will wish nothing

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Et sancta atque pia, & tanto te principe digna
Ac praeclara voles & laudatissima semper:
Et libertates, & priuilegia cuncta
Publica totius quaecunque & commoda regni,
Iuraque iustitiam, patriae legesque verendas,
Et pia maiorum statuta ac sancta, sereno
Pro candore tuo, pro maiorumque tuorum
Virtute insigni, cum laude tuebere nobis,
Vti decet regemque bonum, dominumque benignum,
Et iustum & sanctum & Numen caeleste verentem:
Scismate tu regnum quoque conseruabis ab omni
Pestifero purum, atque in religione parentum,
Maiorumque pia: qua post idola vetusti
Explosa erroris primi per sancta vocati
Dogmata vixere imbuti sub Numine Christi,
In regno hoc patres: sectae quod seditiosae
Di(v) Sint omnes ac pestiferae, spirentque tumultus
In populo caecos, miscentes sacra prophanis:
Publica pernities semper, semperque rebelles,
Insurgantque Potestati, legique repugnent,
Atque Magistratum contemnant viliter omnem,
Vota sui patris Satanae, ingeniumque sequentes,
Scissoris pacis, turbatorisque quietis,
Sanctaque quod dulci vinclo dilectio iungit.
In regno ergo tuo nunc, illustriss[imus] Princeps,
Maiorum decus & virtus, Rex inclyte, salue.
Det tibi felices semper Pater almus Olympi
Successus rerum, cuius tu Numine nobis
Es datus in regem: quo solo omnisque potestas
Procedit, regiturque simul, quam continet orbis
Totus, & in manibus cuius sunt pectora regum,
Quae vertit quocunque libet, benè siue sinistrè,
Pro populi meritis, seu dextris, siue sinistris:
Pro regisque pio ingenio aut pro mente maligna,
Atque voluntate inuersa, arbitrioque retorto:
Det tibi virtutes, quibus omnes fulminis instar,
Prosternas hostes: pacemque ac commoda pacis
Restituas, & conserues bona publica semper:
Et faciat cunctos claris excellere reges
Factis maiores virtute ac laudibus omnes.

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but what is just and sacred and pious and worthy, deserving, and most laudable of you, such a great prince, and the liberties, and all the common privileges and whatever facilities of the realm whatsoever, and the laws of justice, and the revered principles of the country, and the pious and sacred statutes of our ancestors, in accordance with serene candour, and the notable virtue of your ancestors, you will uphold with praise from us, and as befits a good king, and a kind, just lord who reveres holy God in heaven: you will keep safe your kingdom from all destructive schism, and in the sacred religion of the fathers and of our ancestors: In this way, after the destruction of the ancient error, our ancestors first lived in this kingdom, imbued with the will of Christ, having been called by sacred doctrines | Di(v)
because all kinds of seditious and destructive sects exist and inspire blind commotions amongst the population, mixing the holy with the profane: always public destruction, always rebels rise up against the Power and oppose the law, and hold the entire Magistracy in worthless contempt, following their vows and inclination towards their father Satan, uprooter of peace, and the disturber of quiet, and that love which joins the holy in sweet bond.

Welcome therefore now in your kingdom, most illustrious Prince, the glory and virtue of your ancestors, o celebrated King! May our nourishing Father on Olympus always give you happy results in your affairs, of whose will you have been given to us to be king: from whom alone all power, which the entire world contains, issues forth and at the same time is controlled, and in whose hands are the souls of kings, who overturns whatever pleases, for better or worse, for the service of the population, either in good or bad matters according to the pious nature of a king or for a malignant mind and a perverted will, and twisted judgement: may he give virtues to you so that you might strike down all enemies like a thunderbolt: and may you restore peace and the benefits of peace, and always conserve the public good: and may He make all kings outdo all their ancestors in virtue and praise through their famous deeds.

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Dixêre, ac contrà grauiter stans, ora, manusque
Intendens Princeps, placidè sic illico cosdem
Affatur sermone graui, responsa morantes.
Illustres, clarisque viri, primaria regni
Angliaci ac bases, stabilesque columnae,
Et nostri, summa domini clementia, amici
Rari atque insignes, nobis ex pectore chari.
Scitis vt Omnipotens, quae vult, quaeque ordinat, illa
Eueniunt semper certò: & quod nulla potestas
Dii Regnorum ac Regum, Domino nisi dante, supersit
In terris vsquam: Sic huius Numine vobis
Adsum solius: mittente hoc Numine, veni:
Omnia vt hoc solo, quae caelum, tartara, tellus,
Continet, & si alibi quid creditur esse, reguntur.
Nulla huius regni leuior meditatio cordis
Incidit ante vnquam mihi, regnandiue cupido,
Ac ne tale quidem mihi per vaga somnia venit
In mentem Angliaci, moderamina sumere regni.
Tantò ambisse minus, vel solicitasse putari
Debeo, vel credi: oblatum non valde recuso:
Vt neque delector multum: quod pondera rerum
Hoc grauiora mihi incumbant, ac frena regendi.
Cùm mihi terrarum satis & plus penè supersit,
Nascitur vnde ingens mihi cura ac solicitudo,
Quae premit & torquet nimium me, decoquit, angit.
Nil vt opus fuerit mihi curam adiungere curae,
Atque oneri grandi atque graui, super addere pondus
Grande aliud, nostros humeros, quod fasce fatiget.
Vosque agnoscentes (summa haec prudentia vestra est)
Esse voluntatem hanc diuini Numinis ipsam,
Vt sine quo nulli gestent diademata reges,
Et nulli fiant, nec possint esse, nec extent:
Me in regem vestrum titulo regalis honoris
Suscipitis, regnumque offertis & omnia regni.
Pro quibus & vobis debetur magna vicissim
Gratia, quam domino tribuente, videbitis omnes,
Tempore quisque suo, quantum sperare nec ausit.
Porrò quae vestri sunt priuilegia regni,
Et libertates, & consuetudinis vsus,
Et quaecunque alia, & veteris quae Relligionis,

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So they spoke, and the Prince standing solemnly opposite them, looking intently and stretching out his hands and on the spot he thus calmly addressed them with a stern speech, while they delayed their responses.

> Illustrious and famous men, the distinguished of the realm of England, its foundations, and stable columns, and our friends, rare and famous, lords with the highest clemency, dear to us, from our heart. You know that Almighty, what He wills, and what He ordains, those things happen certainly and always: and because no power | of kingdoms and kings, unless Dii
> the Lord gives it, remains in countries anywhere: thus I come to you by the Will of Him alone: and by his Divine Will sending, I have come: because all things are ruled by Him alone which heaven, hell, and earth encapsulate, and anywhere else that is believed to exist. No lighter consideration of this royal power ever fell upon me before, or a desire to rule, such that something like this, to take up the reigns of the English kingdom, did not enter my mind, not even in my wandering dreams. I must be considered or believed to have solicited it, to have desired it, less than very much: I by no means loudly refuse what has been offered: and am not much delighted because the weight of those matters be heavier upon me than this, and the reins of power. Although there remain plenty, and almost too many, lands for me from which vast concern and anxiety is produced in me, which press and torment me excessively, causing distress and suffering in me. It will not be beneficial to me to add concern to concern, and to add another heavy burden on top of the great and heavy burden on our shoulders, which fatigues from the load. And because you recognise this (this prudence of yours is the best) to be the will of the divine God himself, that without whom no king would bear the crowns, and there would be no kings, nor could there be, nor could they exist: you support me as your king in the title of royal honour, and you offer your kingdom and all the kingdom. In return for these things and for you great gratitude is owed, which, because the Lord distributes it, you will all see, each in his time, so much as one might not dare to hope for.
>
> Furthermore what the privileges of your kingdom are, and its liberties, and its manners of custom, and whatever else, and what things of

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Antiquos, sanctosque Dei spectantia cultus:
Publica cunctorum per regnum commoda passim:
Dii(v) Et si praeterea, moueat quod fortè, quid extat:
Non me propterea vobis venisse putetis,
Horum vt subuersor ferus, excisorve malignus
(Nam tam grande nefas, tetro quis corde volutet?)
Esse velim: at tutor, conseruatorque fidelis
Semper & assertor pius ac defensor vbique,
Maiorumque auctor volo, collatorque benignus:
Vt iustum atque bonum decet omni tempore Regem:
Quodque est officium Regis iustique, piique:
Longè à quo semper vox ethnica debet abesse:
Si rumpenda fides, regnandi rumpere causa
Posse aliquem, vt quouis tituli sub nomine regnet.
Gratia sed vobis pro regni multa, corona.
Non mihi regnorum diademata plurima desunt:
Nec desunt fuluo percussae ex aere coronae.
Dixit, & in verbum resona consurgit in auras
Applausus populi affusi, vocesque triumphi
Instar praeclari, clamantes vndique, viuat
Rex viuat, viuat Reginaque regia proles.
Interea resonat simul & clangorque tubarum,
Et litui rauci triplicis, toruique taredi[?].
Tunc Regina graui procedens inclyta passu,
Obuia diductis Heroem suscipit vlnis,
Et tales gracili fundit mox ore loquelas.
Expectate diu, per tot discrimina rerum,
Per tot difficiles casus, variasque procellas
Fortunae ambiguae, salue charissime coniunx.
Gratia magna Deo, qui te mihi reddere saluum,
Incolumemque sua voluit bonitate maritum,
Quam mihi ab aeterno praeuidit & assignauit.
O mihi quàm fluxêre dies & tempora tardè,
Dum te lenta moror: dum pernox cogito, ne qua
Turbida tempestas, saeuis te inuoluerit vndis:
Diii Euronothus neue in Boream, atque per inuia ponti
Dispulerit classem, atque ignotum abiecerit orbem,
Qua stringit pigrum Boriali frigore pontum,
Vertice nocturnus detorquens frena Bootes:
Neue Aquilo contrà, te fortè ad littora Regis,

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> the ancient Religion, observing the old and sacred worship of God, the public advantages of all spread widely throughout the kingdom, and if Dii(v)
> anything else exists which might move you: you must consider me not to have come to you for these things because I would want to be a fierce destroyer or evil exciser of them (for such an act, who would consider it in his tainted heart?): but on the other hand I always want to be a protector, a faithful conserver and the pious champion and defender everywhere, and the supporter and kind collator of the ancestors: as befits the just and the good King in all time: and this is the duty of the just and pious King: from him the heathen voice should always be far away: the reason for being King must be destroyed if you believe that someone can break it, so that he may be King under whatever name of title. But many thanks to you for the crown of the kingdom. I am not lacking in many diadems, nor am I lacking crowns beaten from yellow metal.

He spoke and echoing applause arose to the air from the people who had streamed to hear his speech, like voices of splendid triumph, and proclaiming on all sides, "long live the King!", "Long live the Queen and the royal offspring". Meanwhile a blast of trumpets and of triple hoarse war-trumpets and of piercing *taredi*[?] likewise resounded.[5]

Then, proceeding with serious step, the famous Queen accepts the Hero with her arms spread open, and then she immediately poured such excellent speeches from her graceful mouth.

> Awaited daily, through so many dangerous situations, through so many troublesome calamities, and various storms of fickle fortune, welcome, o most dear husband. Great grace from God, who wanted to deliver you to me unharmed, by His goodness which He from heaven foresaw and assigned to me. Oh! How the days and time flowed slowly, while I haplessly awaited you: while all through the night I fear that a wild storm had enveloped you in ferocious waves: | that Euronotus had driven your Diii
> fleet not to the North wind and through impassable seas, and cast you to unknown territory, where nocturnal Bootes stirs the reluctant sea with Northern cold, turning his reigns towards a whirlpool and not the North Wind drove you in the opposite direction, by chance, to the shores of

5 This may be a variant of *tareda* or *tarida*, which is a type of ship, and could refer to the ship's misthorn, but, being unsure, we leave it untranslated.

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Qui cum Patre tuo tam bella immania miscet,
Inuitum impulerit, cui factus praeda venanti.
Ille licet pacis nobis stet foedere iunctus:
Det tibi perpetuam Deus optimus ille salutem,
In Domino qui nostra salus, spes vna quietis,
Fortunaeque bonae, ac felicis temporis esse
Commodus & faustus voluisti & ad omnia promptus,
Quae possunt dulcem nobis afferre quietem.
Pecco, fatigatum nimium te, denique longo
Quae sermone moror sic solicitudinis: ergo
Ascende, ac mecum nunc regia tecta subito,
Tecta suum dominum iam te expectantia longo
Tempore, & assidua clamantia voce, venito:
Depositurus atrosque situs, tristesque latebras,
Squaloresque freti, prolixaque taedia classis.
Te laetoque foco, media qui plurimus aula
In nostra lucet, simul & sermone suaui,
Et Cerere & Baccho, atque aliis, quas nautica vita
Non praestare potest rebus: praestare sed aula
Nostra potest, & praeterea quaecunque placebunt:
Exhilaraturus post tristia taedia saeui,
Terrificosque aestus pelagi, rabiemque profundi.
Caetera quid memorem? nam spero nulla futura
Hac in sorte vnquam vitae, tibi taedia nostri.
Vellemus certè forma magis esse venusta:
Aetatemque annis tam multis esse minorem,
Quo praesente magis possemus vtrique placere.
Sed frustra petitur, quod non natura, vel vsus,
Diii(v) Esse aliter patitur: quicquid sum corpore tota
Atque animo tua sum: mihi nil in vtrique reseruo.
Dixerat, & contrà mox fatur talia Princeps.
Salue chara mihi, salue o dulcissima coniunx,
Quae mihi ab aeterno diuina lege dicata
Et desponsa venis placide iunctura paratam
Prompta voluntatem, vota in communia sancti
Coniugii, Dominus plaudente quod omine sanxit.
Et mihi longa nimis, despectaque taedia classis,
Nauseaque & foetens sentina inuisa fuêre.
Parua licet fuerit mora, qua transuectus ab oris
Hispanis longè, tumidi per caerula ponti,

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the King who stirs up brutal wars with your unwilling Father, to whom you were made hunting prey. It is allowed that he stand united with us by a peace treaty: May that most good God give everlasting salvation to you, you who wanted to be our salvation in the Lord, who are the hope of peace, good fortune, and happy days, benign, and happy, ready for everything which can bring us sweet peace.

I sin, I who delay you, who is far too exhausted, with a long speech of such anxiety: therefore rise, and now with me enter the royal palace who has been awaiting you, its master for a long time, with constant voice, "come": you are about to lay down your squalid situation, and the sad retreat, and the filth of the sea, and the prolific weariness of the fleet. And I welcome you to our hearth, which very much is resplendent in the middle of our hall, simultaneously with pleasant conversation, and with Ceres and Bacchus, and with other things which were not available in the nautical life, and in addition whatever else will please you: you are about to be gladdened after the sad tedium, and terrifying passions of the cruel sea, and madness of the depth. What else can I recall? For I hope that there will be no future tedium from us for you ever in this sort of life. We were certainly wishing to be a more attractive appearance: that our age were less than so many years. We could be more pleasing to both of you than our present state. But it is sought in vain, what nature or custom does not permit, | to be otherwise: whatever I am, I am wholly yours both in body and soul: I hold back nothing for myself from either of you. Diii(v)

So she spoke and now the Prince speaks the following in reply.

Greetings, my beloved, greetings, o most pleasant wife, you who come calmly, promised to me under divine law, united in our betrothal, revealing your eagerness for our reciprocal vows of holy marriage, which the Lord has sanctified with a raucous sign. And to my mind the hated tediousness of the fleet was too contemptible, the nausea lasted too long, and the stinking bilgewater was too odious. Granted, there was a short delay, during which I sailed far from the Spanish shore, through the deep blue of

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Quatuor vt tantum fuerit conclusa dierum,
Aeolo ita ventis spirante in vela secundis.
Paruula, sed quaeuis mora, longa videtur amanti:
Atque dies clausis apparet carcere longa
Semper, & aegrotis quaevis nox longa videtur.
Ire nimis tardè cuiusuis temporis horas
Affecti grauiter, semper quicunque, queruntur.
Gratia sed Domino, quod vterque inuenerit altrum
Incolumem & recte Domini bonitate valentem.
Nam quod de forma mihi, deque aetate recenses
Prouecta in multos numerosi temporis annos:
Non est quod moueat, neque cor, charissima, turbet.
Non etenim quos sanctus amor, quos Numen Olympi
Foedere coniungit sancto, & diuina voluntas,
Corporeum magis inspectant, gratumque decorem:
Quàm de formosa venientem mente nitorem:
Virtutumque insigne decus, pectusque venustum,
Dotibus excultum verijs, famaque celebri.
Nec quos corporeae rapit in connubia formae
Caecus amor, totis & feruens flamma medullis,
Vt pecus & brutum: sibi verum ob lumina ponunt
Div Coniugij veri sensum, fructumque, scopumque.
Fallit enim pulchrae saepe indulgentia formae.
Forma bonum fragile & fluxum nimis atque caducum:
Nec sine magnorum vitiorum sordibus extat
Saepe, & colluuies horum ac sentina frequenter:
Sed semper mens pulchra viget, semperque decora
Permanet, & longo magis haec fit tempore pulchra,
Vt pote corporeae semper contraria formae:
Haec aetate minor fit semper: at altera maior.
Quanquam nec tibi forma deest: nec serior aetas
Prorsus adest, ter denos forsitan annos
Atque aliquot superans placet haec: nec displicet ista.
Tu mihi de cunctis sola es formosa puellis:
Et sola, hoc quod habes, iuuenili in corpore, grata
Dixit, & hinc pergunt ad sacra palatia regni.
Tunc subitò variis resonat clamoribus aether
Laetitiae in signum summae, iubilique stupendi
A populo: tonitruque tremit mox vndique pontus
Tunc bombardarum: reboant aurae, oppida, portus,

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the swollen sea, that was concluded only on the fourth day, because Aeolus thus blew into the sails with favourable winds. But any delay, however small, is considered long by the lover: and a day always seems long to those locked up in a prison, and every night seems long to the sick. Those afflicted, no matter who they are, always complain gravely that the hours of any stretch of time pass by too slowly. But thanks be to God, because both of us found the other unharmed and healthy through the Lord's goodness.

For what you number among my appearance and age, advanced to many years of countless time: there is not what moves nor disturbs the heart, dearest. Indeed, holy love, the God of Olympus, whom they join in holy marriage, and Divine will do not look more to corporeal and pleasing beauty. What brightness comes from a beautiful mind: and the conspicuous glory of virtues, and graceful soul, having been honoured in true qualities, and in celebrated fame. And not did blind love of corporeal beauty snatch them in marriages, the flame burning in all innermost parts, as an animal and a beast: they place before their eyes | a true sense of a true Div
marriage, its reward and its goal. Often the indulgence of a beautiful figure deceives. A good figure is a fragile and very much transient and perishable good: often it does not exist without filths of great vices, and the muck of these and frequently the dregs of society: but always the beautiful mind thrives, and always remains glorious, and this kind of beauty happens for a greater length of time, so that it is always capable of opposing corporeal beauty: the one always becomes less with age, but the other more. Although beauty is not wanting for yourself: nor is an older age entirely there, that age surpassing thirty and some years is pleasing: and not is it unpleasing. To me, you are the single beauty from all girls and you alone are pleasing because you have this, in a youthful body.

So he spoke, and henceforth they proceed to the sacred palace of the kingdom.

Then suddenly the air resounded with various cries of joy in signal of the end, and of astounding jubilation from the population: and soon the sea trembled with the thunder of shots: the winds resounding in towns, ports,

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Turres atque arces flagrantis fulminis ictu:
Et tuba defractas tremulis proflatibus auras
Ductilis eructat, trepidum caua tympana pulsum:
Campanaeque suis tinnitibus aera mulcent
Templorum pulsae, cantat modulamina Christo,
Aeternoque Patri pia grates carmina, laudes,
Ipse sacer longo procedens ordine Clerus.

Div(v) EPITHALAMIVM NVPTI
ARVM, VIII. CALEND. AVGUST.
Anno 1554. VVintoniae celebratarum, Sereniss. Philippi, Principis Hispan, & Sereniss. Mariae Reginae
Angliae:

Per Mameranum.

Expectata dies sancti ad solennia festi
Venit, vt Heroes, duo pignora maxima Regum,
Connubio stabili, sanxere quod omine diui
Caelestis Patris, nutu qui cuncta gubernat,
Et regit immensum, quod contegit omnia caelum,
Iungantur, clari per commoda maxima regni:
Quod vicibus paulò antè nouis, aestuque feroci
Fortunae intremuit dubiae, variisque procellis
Coeperat inuolui, perturbarique coortis:
Odia cum funesta vagè, & tenebrosa simultas
Feruerent, atra sectarum incendia peste
Sulphurea inflammante magis, tetrumque vomente
Haustum infernali dudum de fonte venenum.
Ex quibus ereptum, tandem virtute superni
Numinis in solidum rursus superante reuixit:
Atque iterum in veterem redierunt omnia statum.
Vt primum Angliacis defixerat anchora terris
Heroa Hispanum, Castelli concita Regem,
Atque Hamptoniaco latè toto aequore classis
Diffusa in portu, tuta ac tranquilla resedit:
Inclyta Magnatum, Procerum, consultaque Patrum,
Nobiliumque cohors aulae tunc Principis, atque
Ei Turba hominum diuersa vagè de puppibus altis,

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towers, and citadels with the blow of flaming lightning: and the malleable trumpet discharged violently the scattered winds with trembling breaths, and the hollow drums a scary sound: and beaten bells of the churches thrashed the air with their ringing, the holy clergy itself, proceeding in a long line, sing songs for Christ, pious thanks, songs, praises for your eternal Father.

Epithalamium on the wedding of the most serene Philip, Prince of Spain, and the most serene Mary, Queen of England, to be held at Winchester on the eighth before the Calends of August in the year 1554.[6] Div(v)

By Mameranus.

The awaited day has come for the rituals of a sacred feast, when the Heroes, the two greatest pledges of Kings, in stable wedlock, which omens of the divine Heavenly Father, who governs everything by his will and rules the immense sky which covers everything, have sanctioned, will be united by means of the greatest advantages of their renowned kingdom, a union which but shortly ago trembled at new vicissitudes, and with the fierce agitation of uncertain fortune, and began to be enveloped in, and disturbed by, various tumults which had arisen: when deadly hatred and dark enmity were swarming widely—the fires of sects—while the dark, sulphurous plague inflamed more strongly, and spewed foul poison drawn from an infernal fount not long ago. Having been snatched away from these things to solid ground, it lived again when the virtue of our Heavenly God finally ruled once more and all things returned to their former state again.

When the anchor, which first set in motion the king of Castile, fastened the Spanish Hero, onto the land of England, and the navy had been spread widely across all the water in the port of Southampton, it rested calm and safe: the celebrated and well-considered retinue of Magnates, of Chiefs, of Elders, and then of Nobles of the court of the Prince, and | a multitude of men spread out Ei
across the high sterns, the whole crowd is very rapidly set ashore by means of

6 Roman-style circumlocution for: on 25 July 1554.

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Pontibus eiectis tremulis exponitur omnis
Ocius: at rarus, sollerti ita Rege iubente,
Martius armata de classe in littora miles:
Ne temerè in terram missus vagabundus oberret:
Aut petulante manu turbae quid tentet agresti
Vellere, & in classem furtiuam inferre rapinam,
More suo veteri, vetitasque abducere praedas.
Regia mox Princeps, Reginaque tecta subintrant.
Tunc sacra coniugii, promissaque foedera lecti,
Laetitiam regno, cunctoque datura popello,
Auspice firmentur, christo in pia vota vocato,
Solennique die, & sanctis pro more peractis
Ritibus Ecclesiae, solitisque ex ordine pompis.
Quem tu clara diem celebrans VVintonia festum,
Vidisti, & totam haec noua gaudia fusa per vrbem,
Omnia quae scriptis nimis essent longa referre.

Chorus Musarum ad Matronas.

Linquite Matronae grauitatem, linquite vestram:
Non decet in laetis frontibus esse graueis.
Non decet in festis vultum seruare seuerum,
Nec corrugata fronte videre iocos:
Laetáve contracto tristari gaudia naso:
Aut toruo vultu cernere, siue graui.
Nunc sinite vt pulchrae tripudia laeta puellae
Ducant, nec pudeat vos quoque adesse iocis.
Festa dies colitur, resonent nunc omnia festo
Carmine: sit cunctis vndique festa dies.
Tympana dent sonitum, proflet sed & vter in auras,
Et lyra, testudo, buccina dulce strepant.
Ad strepitum & carmen pedibus pulsare iocosis,
Nemo solum dubitet, mobilitate vigens.
Ei(v) Vosque maritales thalamos, taedasque iugales
Ritè parare decet, virgineisque choros.
Vosque puellarum fragranti tempora flore,
Et viridi myrto cingere flaua decet.
Et iuuenes pulchras consueto more puellas
Ducant in choreas, turba iocosa, leues.
Et veneres Nymphis iunctae, Charitesque decentes,
In iuuenum veniant, virgineumque chorum.

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trembling bridges that had been cast out: but, because the clever King commanded it so, the army of Mars was hardly set ashore from the armed fleet so that it could not, having been sent to the mainland, end up wandering around as vagabonds by accident: or with an insolent hand might try to appropriate something from the country-crowd and to carry sneaked-off plunder into the fleet, according to its old ways, and to carry off forbidden spoils. Next, the Royal Prince and Queen go into the royal palace.

Then the rites of the marriage, and the promised agreements of the marriage bed which are going to give happiness to the kingdom and all the people are confirmed auspiciously, after Christ had been invoked in pious prayers and the solemn day, the holy rites of the Church, and the customary processions were performed in order in accordance with custom. Beautiful Winchester, you have witnessed this day, celebrating its feast, and these new joys which were spread through the entire city, all those things which would take too long to recount in writing.

A Chorus of Muses to Matrons.

O Matrons! Leave your gravity, leave it:
    it is not fitting to be grave among happy faces.
It is not fitting to keep a stern countenance in festivals,
    nor to see jokes with a wrinkled brow:
to sadden happy joys with a pinched nose:
    or to judge with grim or grave face.
Now, permit that pretty girls may lead joyous dances,
    and let it not shame you that you too be present at jokes.
A festive day is honoured, now may all resound in festive song:
    may it be a festive day everywhere for all.
May timbrels sound, but also may the bagpipe pour noise into the air,
    the lute, the lyre, and the trumpet blast pleasantly.
To the song and music, being vigorous in their mobility.
    may nobody doubt that the ground must be beaten with cheery feet.
You husbands, it is fitting to duly prepare the bedrooms, Ei(v)
    and the nuptial torches, and the choruses of virgins.
And you of the girls, it is fitting that you encircle your blond temples
    With fragrant blossom and fresh myrtle.
And the youths in the accustomed manner lead pretty
    girls in mirthful choruses, a cheery crowd.
And may the decent, charming Charites, joined with Nymphs,
    approach the band of youths and girls.

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Fausta chori Matronarum ad
Dominum imprecatio.
Noster amor, spes, vna salus, tu pronube Christe,
Et tu virgo simul castissima mater Iesu,
Quam Cana sacratris Galileae dulcia nuptis
Solicitam ex vndis caperent vt facta ministri
Vina noua aspexit, mirante hoc Architriclino,
Dulces perpetuò dignemini adesse fauore.
Anglica magnanimo Regina Maria Philippo
Claro Castelli coniungitur inclyta Regi.
His facite vt properè foecundo semine germen
Surgat & ad votum non longo tempore tardet,
Vt fiant ambo pulchra mox prole parentes.
His facite vt canae glomerent filamina[?] Parcae
Longa per intortos sinuoso verbere fusos.
Anglica magnanimo Regina Maria Philippo
Claro Castelli coniungitur inclyta Regi.
Nulla soporiferae perceptent taedia noctes,
Iurgia nulla dies, nec litis semina lectus,
In quo nupta iacet: placidam sed vbique quietem,
Tranquillosque dies, & longae plurima vitae
Commoda, & aetherei veniant in gaudia regni.
Anglica magnanimo Regina Maria Philippo
Claro Castelli coniungitur inclyta Regi.
Mutuaque vt semper coniungat gratia nuptos
Eii Efficite, & totum ducant felicibus aeuum
Auspiciis semper, vestroque in amore senescant,
Atque fide integra placeant, vitaque pudica.
Anglica Magnanimo Regina Maria Philippo
Claro castelli coniungitur inclyta Regi.
His date tranquillè moderari commoda regni:
His date felici, quò semper pace gubernent:
His date perpetua, subiecti vt pace fruantur:
His date laetitia saliat plebs tota perenni.

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The favourable imprecation of the choir of Matrons to the Lord.

Our love, our hope, our one salvation, you, minister of matrimony, O Christ, and you the Virgin and likewise most chaste mother of Jesus, whom, when roused by the wedding that immortalized Galilee, the sweet things at Cana captivated, when she saw that the minister's new wine had been produced from water, while the chief steward admired this, may you kindly deem it worthy to attend this wedding with eternal favour.

> The celebrated Queen Mary of England is marrying to the brave King Philip of Castile.

For them, make it so that the bud might grow with fertile seed, and that it does not delay our wish for a long time, so that they might soon both become parents with pretty offspring. For them, make it so that the grey-haired Fates amass long threads by means of their spindles twisted with the coiling weft.

> The celebrated Queen Mary of England is marrying to the brave King Philip of Castile.

May the sleep-bringing nights perceive no weariness, the day not any quarrels, nor the bed, in which the bride lies, the seeds of quarrel: but may the royal couple arrive at gentle quiet everywhere, and tranquil days, and the many advantages of long life, and amidst the joys of the kingdom of heaven.

> The celebrated Queen Mary of England is marrying to the brave King Philip of Castile.

Make it so that mutual gratitude joins the newlyweds | and that they live their entire lives with auspicious omens always, grow old in your love and take pleasure in perfect faith and a pure life. Eii

> The celebrated Queen Mary of England is marrying to the brave King Philip of Castile.

Give to them the advantages of the kingdom to govern in tranquillity: give this to them so that they may always rule in happy peace; give this to them so that their subjects may enjoy eternal peace: give this to them so that the all the people may delight in everlasting joy.

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Anglica magnanimo Regina Maria Philippo
Claro castelli coniungitur inclyta Regi.
Floreat & toto felix Respublica regno:
Floreat omne bonum per regnum semper vbique:
Floreat & Christi concors Ecclesia semper:
Floreat & studium sanctumque, piumque iuuentae:
Floreat & quicquid regni intra septa tenetur.
Anglica magnanimo Regina Maria Philippo
Claro castelli coniungitur inclyta Regi.
Et procul infestos pellant à finibus hostes:
Et subitò tollant, qui publica commoda turbant:
Atque nouatores exscindant seditiosos:
Vtque bonis sunt laetitiae, semperque decori:
Sic facite esse malis quoque terrori atque pauori
Anglica magnanimo Regina Maria Philippo
Claro castelli coniungitur inclyta Regi.
Ac referant claros semper quoque ab hoste triumphos:
Nec sit qui infestet petulans confinia miles:
Nec qui tranquillam rabioso murmure vitam,
Discindat, motus nec mussitet ore rebelles.
Omnia sed passim vernent bona publica semper.
Anglica magnanimo Regina Maria Philippo
Claro castelli coniungitur inclyta Regi.

Eii(v) Conuiuium Nuptiale.

Exoptata dies, laetis & digna hymenaeis
Venit, coniugii celebrent conuiuia sacri:
Cùm iam purpureis Phaëton Titana quadrigis
Oceano emersum, vacuum per inane reuexit,
Vt fieret medio fere iam vicinus olympo:
Heroes, Proceres, Primores, Nobilitasque,
Matronae atque viri, iuuenes ante ora parentum
Ilustres: lepidae, graciles, grataeque puellae
Conueniunt sacrae ad conuiuia Regia mensae.

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> The celebrated Queen Mary of England is marrying to the brave King Philip of Castile.

And may the Commonwealth flourish happily in their entire reign: and may every good thing always and everywhere flourish throughout the kingdom: and may the Church of Christ always flourish harmoniously: and may the sacred and pious zeal of the youth: and may whatever is contained within the boundaries of the kingdom flourish.

> The celebrated Queen Mary of England is marrying to the brave King Philip of Castile.

And may they drive away enemies from the borders: and may they destroy suddenly, whoever disturbs the public interest: and may they exterminate the seditious revolutionaries: and just as they always are sources of joy and grace to those who are good, just so make that are sources of fear and terror to evil people too.

> The celebrated Queen Mary of England is marrying to the brave King Philip of Castile.

And may they also always bring back illustrious triumphs from the enemy: and let the insolent soldier who attacks our borders be absent: and let whoever disrupts our calm life with rabid murmurs and mutters about rebellious uprisings with this mouth be absent. But may all things for the public good always flourish everywhere.

> The celebrated Queen Mary of England is marrying to the brave King Philip of Castile.

The Nuptial Banquet. Eii(v)

The much-anticipated day, deserving of happy wedding-songs, has come; may the banquets of sacred marriage celebrate it: when at the very moment that Phaeton in his purple chariot brought back the Titan who had emerged from the Ocean through the empty air, so that he almost became a neighbour of the gods, right on Olympus: Heroes, Chiefs, Town Heads, and Nobility, and Matrons and husbands, illustrious youths before the faces of their parents: agreeable, slender, and pleasing girls assemble at the royal banquet for a sacred dinner.

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Circum aulaea nitent de fuluo texta metallo:
Mirum opus ac diues, quo aliud vix extat in orbe
Materiae atque artis similis, similisque triumphi:
Littore barbarico Numidas referentia strages
Maurum insignes, Carlo sub Caesare Quinto
Victore, imposito tibi Thunetane tributo:
Dum Galeothaeam, tonitru ructantibus atrum,
Fulmineis rupit subitò tibi molibus arcem:
Teque sub angustos, pendenti sorte redegit,
Anfractus reum, & sub ineuitabile fatum.
Et videas circum pictos pendere tapetas,
Rarum opus, excellensque operosae insigniter artis:
Et picturato subsellia strata tapete
Regali videas, bysso, ostro, murice, cocco.
Omnia de puro rutilant regaliter auro.

Tunc pueri illustres fragrantes ordine lymphas
Dant manibus: currunt agiles, cereremque canistris
Expediunt, onerantque suo escis ordine mensas:
Queis, vbi procedens longa cum veste sacerdos,
Nomine sub Patris, Natique & Pneumatis almi,
Et cum conuiuis, benedixit, sacra precatus:
Ad positas properare suo quisque ordine mensas:
Sidonioque super strato discumbitur ostro.
Eiii Obseruant mensas iuuenes, & iussa, vicesque
Quisquis suas: variè pubes cursatque, recursat
Mobilis: hinc escas alii, pinguisque ferinae
Viscera tosta ferunt: series longissima rerum:
Alituum omne genus: pecudum genus omne ministri
Ordine fumosa producunt cuncta coquina,
Desudante coquo: capreas, ceruosque fugaces:
Artocreas & pastillos & torta, placentas,
Saccarea, & quicquid tenet alma culina ciborum.
Non aper atque lepus: non hinnulus ac capricornus:
Non & ibex, damae, & foeta qui menstruus aluo,
Gaudet in effossis habitare cuniculus antris.

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Coverlets woven from a tawny metal sparkle all around: a wonderful and rich work, such that another scarcely exists in the world that is similar in material and skill or similar in triumph:[7] recording the exquisite destruction of the Numidians on the barbaric coast of the Moors, under triumphant Caesar, Charles V, tribute having been imposed on you, Tunis while suddenly he broke through the fortress of La Goletta with thunder and vast amounts of lightning that belched black smoke[8] and he drove you back into some very tight spots, your fate uncertain. And may you look around at the hanging painted tapestries, a rare work, and remarkably eye-catching on account of its distinguished skill: and may you see the bed covered with the royal tapestry painted with cotton, purple, bordeaux-red, scarlet. All things glowing royally from pure gold.[9]

Then illustrious boys give fragrant water for the hands, as is the custom: they, agile, hasten, and hand out bread from wicker baskets, and they load the tables with dishes in their proper order, there, preceding them, the priest with long garments, in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the nourishing Spirit, and with the guests, blessed them, with holy prayers: everyone hastens to the tables set in the proper order and lies own on the Sidonian purple that has been laid down. | Each of the youths observe their tables, their orders and turns: and Eiii
the frenetic youths rush back and forth in all kinds of ways: henceforth some bring nibbles and, the roasted flesh of fat animals: the very long sequence of things: all manner of nourishments: in succession the servants bring out all manner of animals from every part of the smoky kitchen, from the sweating cook: roe deer, and swift stags: meat pie and latticed ones and twisted ones, flat cakes, sweets, and whatever else of the food held in the nourishing kitchen. Not only boar and hare: but fawn and horned goat: and ibex, fallow deer, and the rabbit, monthly carrying offspring in its womb, who loves living in dug-out holes.

7 The feast took place in Wolvesey Castle, which was then the residence of the Bishop of Winchester. The tapestry might well be the *Conquest of Tunis*, which was commissioned by Charles V in 1546 in honour of his recapture of Tunis from the Turks in 1535. It was completed in April 1554, just a few months before Philip and Mary's wedding. John Edwards gives further details of the tapestry, suggesting that it was a gift from Charles V and that it was of Flemish origin in *Mary I*, 181. The *Conquest of Tunis* was woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, a prominent artisan from Brussels.

8 Possibly a reference to the Portuguese galleon *Botafogo*, which broke the chains protecting the harbour's entrance and thereafter opened fire on La Goletta.

9 The depiction of an important event via tapestry—a tale within a tale—is found first in Catullus 64, and is a common literary trope within epic poetry. Catullus' tapestry depicts an unhappy marriage as opposed to this unashamed praise of Habsburg glory.

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Non olor & perdix, turdus, phasianus & anser
Syluestris: nec auis Iunonia, turtur, alauda,
Ardea, nec sturnus, passer, lasciua cothurnix:
Indicus & vario mutans sua colla colore,
Gallus, & in magnis ingens qui viuere syluis
Assolet auritus, cunctasque sapore ferinas
Exuperare suo: Cygnus syluestris, anasque,
Hic desunt: nec fulica, grusque bonosa, pygargus,
Vipio, trapsque merops, picus, philomena, palumbus,
Pullastri teneri, pingues, raucique capones,
Carduelis, merula & fringilla & mergus, achantis,
Et qui est cunctarum derisor vbique volucrum
Graculus, edoctus mentito gutture voces,
Dum falsò egarrit, cantusque imitando refingit.
Nec genus aequoreum, fluuiatilis atque marinus
Piscis abest mensis, qui nullum praebeat vsum:
Carabus & patulus pecten, capitosus asellus,
Et linguae, & refluo quae tollimus ostrea ponto,
Et quae nascentes implent conchilia lunae:
Dicitur & solis qui verci sturio ventis:
Et rhombus, scombrique, silurus, xiphia, prasmus,
Eiii(v) Pictaque puncturis variis sub flumine truta,
Conger, harenga recens & salmo, barbus, alosa,
Fundulus, & gradiens retrò sub flumine cancer,
Et pinguis murena, & perca & gobio, mullus:
Et si sit pinguis secto qui ventre pro batus
Lucius, ac retinens super omnes carpio nomen
Nobile per cunctas solis sub lumine terras:
Optimaque Angliaco capitur quae flumine tencha,
Piscis cunctorum medicus qui solus habetur,
Affrictu glutinans aliorum vulnera solo.
Venit & hortensis prouentus & omnis agrestis
Ad sacram mensam, & qui nascitur arbore praestans
Fructus vbique nouus, fruticũ, herbarumque nouellus.
Discurrunt, variantque vices, trepidantque ministri.
Obseruantque suas Cantors ac Cytharoedi
Quique vices, cunctas dulci modulamine mensas
Mulcentes, leni strepitu, suauique susurro.
Postquam exempta fames & amor sedatus edendi,
Crateres magnos statuunt, Bacchumque ministrant,

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Not only swan and partridge, thrush, pheasant of the forest and goose: but also bird of Juno [peacock], turtle-dove, crested lark, heron, and also starling, sparrow, and playful quail: the shifting Indian [type], its necks in various colour, French, with large ears and which usually lives in forests, and in its taste surpassing all of the wild beasts: Swan of the forest, and duck are not absent here: nor water-fowl, crane stuffed with nice things, bald eagle, young crane, traps bird, woodpecker, nightingale, wood-pigeon, tender young chickens, fat and husky capons, goldfinch, blackbird, chaffinch, seagull, the thistle-finch, and the jackdaw, which is a mocker of all birds everywhere, having learnt to utter sounds from his lying stomach, while he chatters falsely and refashions songs in imitating them.

Nor are sea animals, river and marine fish of which there is no shortage, absent from the tables: crustacean and wide-open scallop, flat-head hake, and soles, and oysters which we pick up from the receding sea, and which when they are born fill themselves with moon-coloured pearls: and the sturgeon which is said to be curved by the winds alone: and turbot, mackerel, catfish, swordfish, bream, | and trout painted with different spots at the bottom of the river, conger eel, fresh herring and salmon, barbel, the shad, killifish, crabs walking back sideways into the river, fat moray, and perch and gudgeon, and red mullet: and if there be a fat luce whose stomach is cut, let it be excellent, and a carp, retaining its noble name above all fish throughout all the lands under the sun's light: the best tench to be caught in England's rivers, the only fish of all which is held to be medicinal, gluing wounds of others by a rub alone. Eiii(v)

There comes also all the results of the garden and the countryside to the sacred table, and excellent fresh and young fruit which is produced from trees and of bushes and shrubs everywhere. The attendants run in different directions, take turns, are hastening to and fro. And every one of the cantors and cithara players observes their turns, flattering all the tables with sweet melody, with gentle sounds and pleasant whisper.

After which hunger has been lifted and the love of eating calmed, they set down large mixing bowls, and attend to Bacchus, and fill heavy and bountiful

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Atque graues implent vino, largosque culullos.
Plaudunt, exercentque iocos, & vina coronant.
At parte ex alia, bisorem mox tibia cantum
Praebet, & ad choreas, iuuenes vocat atque puellas:
Et percussa sonant leni caua tympana pulsu.
Moxque data Christo super omnia laude, Patrique
Aethereo, qui cuncta dedit, vitamque cibumque,
Vestitumque simul, dubiae bona & omnia vitae:
Parte sub aduersa, suaui sub murmure circum
Substrepere incipiunt cytharae, ventosaque tensis
Testudo neruis, digito vibrante trementes.
Consurgunt mensis properè, nectuntque choreas
Ordine festiuo, lepidasque iocosa iuuentus
In medium Nymphas deducit: turba virorum
Eiv Et matronarum stat circumfusa iuuentae,
Candida spectatrix, oculos intenta, animumque,
Grandia sepositis cunctis in seria curis,
Atque relegatis operosa in tempora rebus.

Bona Musarum ominatio.

CALLIOPE

Anglica magnanimo nupsit Regina Philippo:
Adsis diuino Christe fauore tuo:
Da pacem regno, tranquillaque tempora semper:
Ducant felices tempus in omne dies.

CLIO

Omnipotens totam longaeuo tempore vitam,
Prosperet, ac regni totius acta regat.
Publica res crescat, priuataque commoda iustè
Vernent, iustitiae cuncta regente Deo.

THALIA

Qualis turturibus, talis concordia vobis:
Nestoris & cerui, Mathusalaeque vigor.
Tempora det seros post longa videre nepotes,
Et serie longa stemmata multa, Deus.

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goblets with wine. They clap and practice jokes, and wreathe grapevines. But from another part, the pipe soon offers double song, and calls young boys and girls to the dances: and having been struck, hollow drums resound with gentle stroke. After they had next given praise above all else to Christ, the Heavenly Father, Who gives all, life and food and clothing as well, and all other goods of this fleeting life, on the other side lyres and the hollow tortoiseshell with its tense strings began to sound all around, trembling because they were set in motion by a finger, accompanying a pleasant murmur. Quickly, they rise from the tables, and they tie the ring dancers in a festive order, and humorous young folk lead into the middle the delightful Nymphs: a crowd of husbands | and Eiv
wives stands around the youths, a splendid spectator, keeping a close watch on the eyes and mind of the youths, now that all concerns have been laid aside for gravely serious affairs and matters have been relegated to laborious times.

A good omination of the Muses.

CALLIOPE

The English Queen has married the brave Philip:
O Christ, may you be present with your divine goodwill:
Give peace to the realm, and tranquil times always:
May happy days command all time.

CLIO

May the Almighty further their life to old
Age and rule the deeds of the whole kingdom.
May the state thrive, and private profits justly
Blossom, while God directs everything to justice.

THALIA

May there be such concord for you as there is among turtledoves:
The vigour of Nestor and of the stag and of Mathuselah.[10]
May God grant that you see late grandchildren born after a long time
And many pedigrees from a long sequence.

10 Nestor being, in Greek mythology, known as Nestor of Gerenia, the wise old King of Pylos. Methuselah was the oldest living man in the Hebrew Bible.

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MELPOMINE

Tiberium Gracchum superet sed sponsus amore,
Coniugis vt vitam plus amet, atque suam:
Anteferatque suo sic commoda publica vterque,
Néve minus populi, quàm sua seriò amet.

EVTERPE

Vxorem Admeti flagranti vincat amore:
Susannam & Iudith, sponsa pudicitia:
Eiv(v) Regni & vterque adamet pacem, quantumque licebit
Vt cum vicinis foedera pacis alat.

TERPSICHORE

Plancium & ille pium superet virtutis amore:
Rapta qui socia, viuere non voluit.
Sic & vterque adamet generosi commoda regni,
Vt nisi cum vita, negligat illa, sua.

ERATO

Vt quondam ardenter peramauit Porcia Brutum,
Sponsa suum socium, sic reuerenter amet.
Relligio Christi quoque sic sitienter ametur:
Sic regnum sponsam curet vterque suam.

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MELPOMINE

But may the bridegroom overcome Tiberius Gracchus in love,[11]
So that he might love his wife's life more than his own:
Thus may both of them place the public good before their own
And may they not earnestly love the good of the people less than their own.

EUTERPE

May the bride excel the wife of Admetus in burning affection:
Susanna and Judith in chastity:[12]
And may both of them cherish the peace of the realm, as much as shall be allowed Eiv(v)
So that they may nourish peace treaties with our neighbouring countries.

TERPSICHORE

May the husband overcome the pious Plancius in his love of virtue:[13]
Who, when his partner had died, did not wish to live.
And thus may both of them cherish the advantages of noble royal power,
So that they pay no attention to these matters unless at the cost of their own life.

ERATO

As once Porcia ardently loved Brutus,[14]
A wife her friend, so may she reverently love her husband.
May the religion of Christ be loved thirstily in such a way too:
So each kingdom might care for their betrothed.

11 Tiberius Gracchus [ca. 169–133 B.C.] was a Roman Popularis politician who sought through reform to transfer wealth from the rich to the poor. In response to a fortune teller's divination he killed himself so that his wife Cornelia might live (Plutarch, Tiberius Gracchus 1.1). Mameranus has lifted this image, and many that follow, from Erasmus, "Epithalamium Petri Aegidii", 525.

12 In Greek mythology Admetus was a king of Pherae in Thessaly. His name literally translates to "the untamed" or "the untameable". Admetus' wife Alcestis died so that he could live. Susanna appears in the biblical Book of Daniel and Judith in the Book of Judith. Both women were praised for their chastity.

13 Cn. Plancius[?], whom Cicero in a speech defends from charges of corruption in 54 B.C.

14 Porcia Catonis [ca. 70–43 B.C.], daughter of Cato and the second wife of Marcus Junius Brutus [ca. 85–42 B.C.]. She wounded her own thigh to prove she could bear her husband's secrets under torture.

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POLYMNIA

Iustus Aristides cedat, Nasicaque sponso,
Pythagorae candor, Socratis atque Numae:
Iustitia regnum semper florente gubernent:
Purus amor Domini, ferueat atque fides.

VRANIA

Cedat & vxori formosa ac casta Susanna,
Hester, Penelope, casta Minerua simul.
Sic & vtrunque simul formosa Ecclesia Christi,
Et regni vtilitas vrat amore sui.

APOLLO

Cùm Pater omnipotens vinclum vos iunxit in vnum,
Vobis legitimi sors vt vna tori:
Vnus amorque ambos combinet semper in vnum:
Atque sit alterius iuris vterque simul:
Vnaque mens semper, velut vno in corpore regnet:
Corpus vt est vnum, foemina, virque simul,
Fi Mutuaque alterius sic curet vterque vicissim,
Vitae, animaeque vigil commoda cuncta simul:
Restat ad exemplar vos conformetis vt horum,
Atque memor semper viuere vterque velit.
Ergo legitimi violare cauebit vterque
Sacramenta tori, legitimamque fidem.
Tunc ad coelestes, serae post fata senectae,
Victurus sedes ibit vterque Deo.

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POLYMNIA

May just Aristides and Scipio Nasica give way to her husband,
And the splendour of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Numa:[15]
May they always steer the kingdom in flourishing justice:
May their pure love of God, and their faith be inflamed.

URANIA

And may beautiful and chaste Susanna yield to his wife,
And simultaneously Hester, Penelope, and chaste Minerva.[16]
May the beautiful Church of Christ and the advantage of his
kingdom burn both of them with his love in the same way.

APOLLO

Because the omnipotent Father has joined you in one bond,
So that there is one fate of a lawful marriage bed for both of you:
and one love always combines both into one:
And may the love of each at the same time be the other's law:
May they be of one mind always, as if ruling in one body:
So that there is one body, female, and man simultaneously,
Such that each in turn may care for the things in common with the other, Fi
And at the same time all possessions, a guard of life and mind:
It remains that you conform to the example of those,
And that both of you wish always to live mindfully.
Therefore each will avoid dishonouring
The oaths and legitimate faith of the legitimate marriage bed.
Then both of you shall proceed to God to claim your
seats in heaven, after the fate of old age.

15 Aristides [530–468 B.C.], 'The Just', was an Athenian statesman revered as an honourable man by both Herodotus and Plato. Nasica is probably a reference to Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica [227–171 B.C.] who was chosen for certain duties due to his standing within the Roman community. Nasica could also refer to Scipio Nasica Corculum, the former's son and also a renowned statesman. Numa is likely Numa Pompilius [ca. 753–673 B.C.] who was the second king of Rome traditionally celebrated for his wisdom and piety.

16 Hester is likely Hestia the virgin goddess of the hearth, home, domesticity, family and the state in Greek mythology. Penelope is wife of Odysseus and regarded for both her beauty and fidelity to her husband in his absence. Minerva was the Roman goddess of wisdom, poetry, medicine, and commerce, often associated with virginity, but also portrayed as a warrior.

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Ad Regem & Reginam.

Qualia quisque potest, cum offert, non qualia debet,
Hoc satis esse quidem, Maiestas Regia nouit.
Nam vt desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas:
Sic mea cum tenui graderetur Musa cothurno,
Armaque terrifici pauitans horrentia Martis,
Perstreperet crassos castrensi pectine versus:
Aut etiam stricto percurrens pulpita socco,
Haec humili cursim resonaret carmina plectro
Qualiacunque, tua longè inferiora putanda
Maiestate: tamen regali fretus in omnes,
Rex candore tuo, & qua praeditus es bonitate,
Quod Musa in castris, mediisque effudit in armis,
Rustico & in culto potius, quàm carmine nullo,
Suffartusvolui prodire vt rusticus agno:
Aut vt cum fracta miles malè sobrius hasta,
Proruit in medios nimium temerarius hostes.
Quale igitur cunque est, Rex inclyte, suscipe carmen,
Ac Regina simul placidè, vultuque sereno
Aspicite ex castris, venit vt cum carmine vates,
Caesareis, ad Rentiacam pugnantibus arcem,
Iam desperato Gallo tum Marte fugato:
Vt miles partim, partimque vt semipaganus:
Dicere ni placeat, sit vt hoc ex ordine neuter.

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To the King and Queen.[17]

Your Royal Majesty knows that this is enough, namely as many things everyone can do, when one offers, not as many things one should do. For even when strength may be absent, nevertheless the will ought to be praised: thus when my Muse walked with slender slipper, fearing the horrifying arms of terrifying Mars, she sounded thick lines with a lyre appropriate to the army camp, or even hastening to the stage with slipper drawn tight, she was playing these songs hastily with a small plectrum, to be deemed far below your majesty: nonetheless, you, King, by means of your royal brightness depend on all and endowed with such goodness that the Muse in rustic garb rather than no poem at all poured out a song in the middle of the camp, in the middle of weapons, just as I wanted to appear as a farmer fattened up on mutton, or ineptly just as when a sober soldier with a broken spear, too dread to rush into the middle of the enemy. Accept this song, therefore, such as it is, o celebrated King, and simultaneously calmly accept it, Queen, and with serene face both of you must gaze out from the camps, as the Poet comes with his song, from the Emperor's troops fighting at the citadel of Renty, now that the Frenchman has already despaired and Mars has been routed: if it is does not please to say these things partly as a soldier, partly as a half-rustic, then let it be so that neither be of this rank.

17 Marginalia: "Each song, this and the Gratulatorium, was made in the camps of the Emperor" (In castris Caesaris utrumque carmen factum, et hoc et gratulatorium).

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APPENDIX 3

Psalmi Davidis quinque

Translated by Matthew Tibble and Gary Vos

1 Introduction

Mameranus composed the majority of *Psalmi Davidis quinque* before he arrived in England for the *Strena Mamerani* (Cologne: 1557), which is a New Year's gift that the poet gave to the members of Philip's Council of Finance in the Netherlands. Psalms 1, 14, 36, and 79 first appear in the *Strena*, as does "De officio principis", "De nova urbe Philippopoli", and "De sancta simplicitate" (although this has one additional line from Proverbs 11 in the original, and similar collections of biblical verses on simplicity can be found in his other works, such as his edition of Girolamo Savonarola, *De simplicitate Christianae uitae* (Cologne: 1550)). "De ratione versionis ad lectorem" is an expansion of an address with the same title in the *Strena*, and "De vitiis aulae" is also expanded slightly from its counterpart in that work. "De officio uniuscuiusque" is a selection of lines from a larger poem, "De ipso officio", in the *Strena*. New to the *Psalmi Davidis quinque* are the dedication to Mary and Psalm 39. As I have argued in this book, much of the value of the piece lies in understanding Mameranus's decision to apply its contents to such different audiences.

22. *Psalmi Davidis quinque 1. 14. 36. 39. et. 79. heroico versu in gratiam serenissimae Reginae Angliae redditi, cum subjecto de officio Principis carmine per Nicolaum Mameranum Lucemburgensem Poetam Laureatum*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1557. 4°, A-C⁴, fols. [12].
    Copies:
    – Universitätsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: 0014/W 4 P.lat.rec. 338
    – Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, Shelfmark: 4° 11484
    References: USTC 518033.

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2 Text and Translation

Ai PSALMI DAVIDIS QVINQVE
1.14.36.&.79.
HEROICO VERSV IN
gratiam seriniss. Reginae Angliae redditi, cum subiecto
de officio Principis
carmine.

PER
NICOLAVM MAMERAnum Lucemburgensem Poetam
Laureatum.

LONDINI
Thomas Marsheus excudebat.
Anno. 1557.

Ai(v) [*blank sig.*]

Aii SERENISS. ATQUE ILLVSTRISS.
Principi Dominae, Dn. Mariae, diuina fauente clementia, Angliae, Franciae Hispaniarum, vtriusque Siciliae, Hiberniae & c. Reginae:

Mameranus se commendat.

Qvae regis Angliacae sceptra ac moderamina terrae
Inclyta magnorum de stirpe ac sanguine regum
Stemmata clara trahens, vultu Regina sereno,
Suscipe Dauidis, sancti pia dona Prophetae,
Heroo hos quinos deductos carmine Psalmos:
Protinus Angliaci quos primum limina regni
Cum Rege ingressus, sacrae reuerenter & altae
Ipse tuae Maiestati deuotus alumnus,
Caesareus vates Mameranus pronior offert.
Et rogat in placidum simul vt se sacra fauorem
Regia suscipiat Maiestas inter alumnos,
Quos fouet ex dulci semper pietate benigne.

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Psalms of David 1. 14. 36. 39. & 79. Rendered into heroic verse in gratitude to the most serene Queen of England, with a poem appended, the office of the Prince as the subject. Ai

By The Poet Laureate Nicolaus Mameranus of Luxemburg.

London

Printed by Thomas Marshe
The year 1557

[*blank sig.*] Ai(v)

To the most renowned and illustrious Princess Lady Mary, favoured with divine clemency, the Queen of England, France, Spain and both Naples and Ireland, etc.: Aii

Mameranus recommends himself.

You who rules the sceptre and helm of England, famous Queen with serene face, who stems from the blood and stock of great kings, accept the pious, gifts of the holy Prophet David, these five Psalms rendered in Heroic Verse, which the rather prostrate imperial poet Mameranus, himself a devoted subject of Your Majesty, offers reverently, immediately upon entering the kingdom's boundaries with the King. At the same time, he asks that her sacred royal Majesty accepts him into her calm favour, amidst her subjects, whom she always kindly cherishes out of sweet piety.

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Cum caneret quondam pia vita monastica laudes,
Nocte, dieque deo: cantus, psalmosque sonaret
Omnibus in templis & plurima contio verbi
Diuini fieret, cultusque & sacra frequenter
Missarum, populum quae ad sancta & honesta vocabant
Et pia: tum sanctae florebant plurima vitae
Exempla, & pietatis opus feruebat vbique
Ac syncera fides per sanctos vndique fratres
Concionata, pijs ingentes pectore flammas
Immisit, vitae fuerat quae causa beatae
Multis, de mundo, deque impietate reductis:
Aii(v) Ad cultumque, metumque dei, vitamque modestam
Et sanctam atque piam, metuentem Numinis iram
AEterni, vt semper dominum reuerenter haberet,
Per sanctos fratres; pia per documenta vocatis.
Quae postque fato atque die cessauit iniquo,
Desiit & vitae mox consuetudo beatae
Illa prior, cultusque dei refrixit & ipse
Mutuus officiis amor ac dilectio, fratrum
Relligiosa, viget totum quae salua per orbem
Omnibus in terris, non tantum vbi dogmata Christi
Atque fides, nomenque viget, sanctaeque Potestas
Ecclesiae: sed vbi quoque vel gens Ethnica viuit:
Cum pietate Dei fuerint reparata, priori &
Rursum aptata loco, Domino prestante fauorem,
Illa statum in veterem rursum, tunc cunctaredibunt:
Feruebitque fides, pietas, dilectio fratrum
Mutua, caelestem spirabunt pectora vitam
Feruida & ignitas mittent super aethera mentes
Et rursum sacros cantabunt vndique psalmos
Deuoti in templis fratres, verbumque loquentur
Ad populum domini, sancteque, pieque docebunt
Viuere, vt aeternae veniant ad gaudia vitae.
Plebs iterum veniet tunc sacri ad limina templi
Quottidie reuocata magis, pietatis amore,
Quaesitura dei regnum pia, iustitiamque,
Ante opus omne deum, quo primo mane precetur
In templo Domini, diuinae ad munia Missae.
Quod restaurandum, primo, piscoque nitori
Rite reponendum, Maiestas illa tremenda

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When once the pious and monastic way of life sung praises to God night and day: it sang songs, and psalms in all the churches and many sermons of His divine word took place, and frequently the services and rites of Mass, which called the people to holy, honest, and pious matters. At that time many examples of holy life flourished, and the work of piety was burning and sincere faith was advocated everywhere by holy brothers, and planted into the soul huge flames for the pious, which had been the cause of the blessed life for many. Having been drawn away from the world and impiety | towards the worship Aii(v)
and fear of God, and a restrained and sacred and pious life, which feared the ire of the eternal Divinity, so that it always reverently regarded the Lord, those people having been called by holy brothers and pious lessons. After that earlier custom of the blessed life had ceased through unjust fate, on an unfair day, and quickly vanished and the worship of God and even mutual love and religious affection of the monks had grown cold which blossomed healthily across the entire globe in all countries, not only the doctrines and faith of Christ, and His name, and the power of the Holy Church was thriving: but also when it lived as a heathen nation: when these things shall have been restored through piety towards God, and having been put back in their former place, when God has bestowed His favour, then all these things will return to their former state: and the faith, piety, and mutual delight of the brothers will flame up, and their fervid souls will breathe heavenly life and they will send their ignited souls upwards to heaven and the devoted brothers will again sing sacred Psalms [of David] everywhere in the churches, and they will speak the word of the Lord to the people, and they will teach [them] to live piously and in a holy manner, so that they will reach the pleasures of life eternal. The common people will then again come to the entrances of the sacred church daily having been recalled more by their love of piety, in order to piously seek the kingdom of God, and justice, and before all labour, God, to whom is prayed first thing in the morning in the Lord's Church, at the rites of Holy Mass.

That which must be restored, chiefly, and duly repaired to ancient splendour, is that tremendous Majesty | of the eternal God, by his command, which Aiii

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Aiii Numinis aeterni, nutu, quae cuncta gubernat
Illa reseruauit tibi miro hoc ordine regnum,
Et tibi virtutem contra hostes atque rebelles
Prestitit: a cuius perculsa tremisceret omnis
Praua cohors facie, pauitansque horrore iaceret
Substrata ante pedes, culpam confessa malignam.
Inque fide veterum dedit illa calescere patrum
Te totam sancta, firma vt Marpesia cautes
Atque immota animo fortissima faemina stares,
Plus pietate, viris prestares faemina, vera,
Et saperes, priscumque decus, custode severo
Ecclesiae Domini seruares corde repostum.
Te saluam in sancta feruau[b]it simplicitate,
Vt tua caelesti fulta ac stabilita fauore,
Deducta segete hac praua atque errore reciso
Impio & insano, progressu temporis omni,
Duceret in priscum prudentia rara nitorem.
Quod mox vt fiat, Numen caeleste precamur,
Atque in te Domini benedictio sancta recumbat,
Vt regno sobolem parias ex Rege beatam,
Atque super totum redeat benedictio regnum,
Illa prior, viguit prisco quae tempore patrum
AEterni Patris, Natique & Pneumatis almi.
Quod mecum cuncti dicant ex cordibus, Amen.

Aiii(v) DE RATIONE VERSIONIS
Ad Lectorem.

Qvi legis haec Lector, si verbis reddita verba,
Fers male, des veniam, postulat artis opus.
Non etenim libuit nisi tali reddere pacto
Diuini vatis carmina Dauid.
Non extra metas, extra nec septa vagari:
Nec libuit varia huc cogere sensa simul.
Et non captato libuit sermone venusto
Ponere proposito verba diserta meo.
Sed vetus & simplex tulit vt translatio verba,
Deduxi in versum sic repetita meum.
Atque adeo hic artis volui contemnere quaedam
Praecepta, vt longa est, prima locata secus.

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[Majesty] governs all things. His Majesty has reserved royal power for you in this wondrous order, and has furnished you with virtue against the enemies and rebels: before the face of whom a whole crooked cohort trembled struck down with fear, and quaking with fear lies prostrate at your feet, having confessed its wicked crimes. And that Majesty has given you entirely to warm up in the faith of our forefathers, so that you stand firm as the Marpesian Cliff, lady unmovable and most strong of will, and you, lady, far surpass men in your true piety and know and preserve the old splendour, having been placed in the heart of our Lord's church with a severe guard. It shall preserve you safely in sacred simplicity, so that your rare prudence may lead back to the old splendour after, in the full progress of time, that wicked crop has been cut back and that insane and impious error curtailed, supported and propped up by divine favour. We pray to the heavenly God that this may happen soon, that the sacred blessing of the Lord might rest on your shoulder, in order that to the kingdom you might beget a blessed child by the King, and that that earlier blessing might return back over the whole kingdom, that blessing which acquired strength from the ancient time of fathers and of the eternal Father, and the Son, and the nourishing Spirit. May people with me plead this from their hearts, Amen.

To the reader, regarding the manner of rendering.

Reader, you who read these, if you take these words, rendered in words, badly, forgive me: the work demands skills. Indeed, it was not pleasing but to render the sacred songs of the divine prophet David in the following manner: not to wander beyond limits, nor beyond the boundaries: nor to gather various thoughts simultaneously to this place. And it did not please to place eloquent words, as is my desired manner, into old speech. But I have drawn words into my verse in such a way than an old and unadorned translation could bear. And, I wanted to condemn certain precepts of this art to the point that she is long, though she at first was arranged differently.

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Aiv–Biv(v) [*These pages contain Mameranus's verse rendition of Psalms 1, 14, 36, 39, 79. These have not been translated due to space limits, and, as the address to the reader indicates, follow the Vulgate closely. Where they have been quoted in the preceding chapters, full translations alongside the original have been given.*]

Biv(v) DE OFFICIO PRINCIPIS.

Regis ad exemplar totus componitur orbis.
Publicus est oculus Princeps, speculumque refulgens
orbis, ab excelso defigens lumina monte,
ex quo se instituunt, vitamque ab imagine formant
subiecti populi, moresque imitando sequuntur.
Sol oculus mundi, tenebras dispellit inertes
purus & illustris: sic Princeps pectora lustret
illustris vitiosa hominum candore sereno
virtutum, puraeque exemplo & imagine vitae,
tanquam oculus domini, vel sol clarissimus orbis,
conspicua qui luce sua tenebrosa pererret
et fulgore suo ac virtute illuminet omnes.
Non recipit maculas sol in se lucidus vllas:
non oculus quicquam, radios, aciemque videndi
admittit, vitio quod vel virtute nocendi
laedat & offendat: sic nil admittere Princeps
in se debebit vitii, quod culpet honestus
et prudens, & quod regalem obfuscet honorem.
Ci Si pius & iustus fuerit, quoque subditus ipse
talis erit: sic si prauus, peruersus iniquus,
non poterit, quin ille via gradiatur eadem,
et vitiosa sui Regis vestigia presset.
Nam magis exemplo Princeps, quam crimine culpae
peccat & offensa est coeli sub Numine maior
omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
crimen habet, quanto maior, qui peccat, habetur.
Protulit in Satyra Iuuenalis vt ille Poeta.
Aquet [atque] ideo peccat grauiori crimine Princeps
atque Magistratus, si haec non considerat, omnis.
Et nullum mandata tenent, seu iussa vigorem
regis, transgressor latae si primitus extet
ipse suae legis temerarius atque proteruus.

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[*These pages contain Mameranus's verse rendition of Psalms 1, 14, 36, 39, 79. These have not been translated due to space limits, and, as the address to the reader indicates, follow the Vulgate closely. Where they have been quoted in the preceding chapters, full translations alongside the original have been given.*] Aiv–Biv(v)

Concerning the Duty of the Prince Biv(v)

The whole world is formed to the pattern of its King. The Prince is the public eye, and is a mirror reflecting the world, directing his looks down from an exalted mountain, and it is under him and according to his image that the subjected people educate themselves, and form their way of life, and in imitating him, they follow his behaviour. The sun, eye of the universe, pure and brilliant, drives out the formless darkness: so let the illustrious Prince purify the vicious souls of men with the radiating splendour of his virtues, and by the example and the image of his pure life, just as the eye of a master, or the clearest sun in the world, that would penetrate through darkness with its shining light and illuminate all men with the splendour of its virtue. The shining sun does not receive any blemishes onto itself; the eye does not admit anything which has the power to hurt or to offend its rays or the keenness of its sight because it is bad or has the power to do harm—thus the Prince must not give room to any vice, which an honest and prudent man might find fault with, or which might dim his regal honour. | If he [i.e. the Prince] is just, his subject will be Ci
so too; similarly, if he is vicious, perverse and unjust, it will be impossible for him [i.e. the subject] not to walk down the same road and to follow the flawed footsteps of his own King. For the Prince sins more through example than by being accused of a fault, and for God in heavens, his [i.e. the Prince's] crime is greater, for the crime resulting from any vice of mind is all the more visible as he who sins is held in higher esteem—as the famous poet Juvenal has said in one of his Satires. And therefore the Prince and every Judge sin by committing an even greater crime if they do not take these matters into account. And the King's decrees or commands hold no power if he is the first to become a rash and shameless transgressor of a law that he has promulgated. Then all piety,

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Tumque ingrata deo pietas erit omnis, & ipsa
relligio, probitas, & quamuis inclyta virtus,
ductaque diuinae conformis vita palestrae,
haec in secreto si cuncta exerceat, vt non
spectari populo valeant, fructumque referre.
Princeps namque bonus qui publica templa frequentat,
excitat exemplo populum pietatis inertem.
Non puduit veteres cum Clero psallere Reges
templis in mediis, cuncto spectante popello:
ergo Deum hic flexis genibus reuerenter adoret,
et circumfusa colat hunc spectante caterua
plebis, vt exemplo fiat feruentior ipso,
atque deum semper tali pro rege precetur.
Nam reddam domino mea dicit vota propheta,
coram omni populo, vt videantur ab omnibus ipsa.
In terra, in terra, prostrato poplite nudo,
Ci(v) corde humili atque pio, ardenti, manibusque plicatis,
diuinum coeli Numen reuerenter adora,
O mortalis homo, puluisque ac terra caduca:
cumque tremore tuam pauitans operare salutem
et Rex, & Princeps, & Caesar maxime mundi.
Nam si Rex humilis Numen reuerenter adoret,
coram omni populo et supplex sua vota resignet,
omnis ad exemplum mox plebs imitando sequetur:
tunc pietas populi, tunc flagrantissimus aestus,
regis amore sui semper feruebit vbique,
votaque ad astriferi tunc feruentissima coeli,
certatim mittent cuncti, & violenter olympi,
vndique laxatas perrumpent agmine portas.

Tum sit vita boni semper casta atque pudica
Principis ac turpi sit nulla labe notata.
Ergo suis mandet sibi vera atque optima dici,
rex bonus & prudens & qui coeleste veretur
Numen, & aethereas qui totus anhelat ad arces:
ac vitium retegi, si quo fortasse laboret,
absque metu audacter, nulla formidine poenae
deterrente ipsos, ne pure vera loquantur.
Sic quoque qui Regi bene vis, atque intimus extas,
intrepide erroris, vitiique & criminis omnis
admoneas ipsum, tu Consiliarie semper.

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religion itself, honesty, and virtue, however much celebrated, and a life led in accordance with godly toil will be unpleasant to God, if the Prince carries out all these things in secret, so that they cannot be seen by and be useful to the people. For the good prince who frequents churches, rouses the inert people by the example of his piety. The kings of old were not ashamed to sing with the clergy in the middle of churches, with all the people observing: let him therefore on his knees reverently adore God, and let him worship with a crowd of people, stood around him, looking on, so that they may grow more fervent by his very example, and may always pray to God on behalf of so great a king. For the prophet says [of Psalm 115, 18–19]: "I shall give my thanks to the Lord in the presence of all the people", so that they may be seen by all. On the ground, and in the dirt, prostrated on bare knee, | with a humble, pious, and burning Ci(v)
heart, and with folded hands, you must worship the divine God of heaven, O mortal man, perishable dust and earth: and, fearfully, with trepidation, work at your salvation, King, Prince, and Greatest Emperor of the world. For if the humble King reverently adores God, in the presence of the whole population, and as a supplicant performs his prayers, all people will soon follow his example by imitating him: then the piety of the people, then their most ardent passion, will always and everywhere be inflamed by their love of the King, and then they will vie to send their most fervent prayers up to the gates of starry heaven and violently they will burst through the opened gates of Olympus in a throng.

Let the life of the good Prince, then, always be chaste and pure and with no disgrace marred. Let the good and prudent King, and whoever fears our Heavenly God and wholly aspires to the heavenly vaults, command his friends that true and most excellent things be said to himself and that fault be uncovered bravely, if by chance he labours under such, without fear, without fear of punishment keeping them from speaking the truth forthrightly. In such a way also, you who wishes well for the King and are his most intimate friend, you, Councillor, must always intrepidly reproach him for any error, vice, or sin, if you wish

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Si vis officio bene fungi & rectus haberi
ante Deum ac homines & iusti nomine dignus.
Regis ad officium prudentis spectat & illud
elogium Pauli: Curam quicunque suorum
non habet exactam, ille fidem, Christumque negauit
est quoque deterior, quam quiuis Ethnicus ille,
Cii atque in calle Dei qui castus & immaculatus
ambulat, vt sancto declarant dogmate vates,
hic mihi seruus erit fidus, quem semper amabo.
Hisque ministrabit mihi semper in omnibus ipse.
Omnis & a magni ludus quoque Principis aula
absit pro nummis, sub poena vt lusor ab aula
exulet eiectus, certos proscriptus ad annos.
Natalem Domini sanctum, festosque sequentes
aula dies cunctos, anni reliquosque profanat,
ludendo totas rabioso pectore noctes.
Non quaecunque potes Princeps qui magnus haberis,
illa velis temere, aut facies, sed iusta memento,
commoda, sancta, pia, & quae censebuntur honesta,
utilia: haec facere atque sequi pro viribus, omni
tempore, & vt puram ducas moderamine vitam.
Illa velis, quae grata Deo, cunctisque propinqua,
atque salutifera, & quae publica commoda spectant,
iusitiaeque ministrandae quae munia sanctae.
Haec Regis vires, haec mentem atque intima versent,
viscera perpetuo, nunquam haec de corde recedant:
cogitet haec totis Rex noctibus atque diebus.
His honor & virtus, laus, gloria, fama paratur:
his Rex coelestes cum plebe ascendet in arces.

DE OFFICIO
vniuscuiusque.

Officium quicunque suum moderamine iusto
Praestat, & ex sancta simplicitate regit:
Nec tenet implicitum versuta fraude, nec arte
Cii(v) Vafra animum, lucro nec studet ille suo.
Sed veluti spectante Deo, sua munia praestat,
Et graditur sanctum simplicitatis iter:
Nec facit vt de se praue detur ansa loquendi,

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to perform your charge well, and to be considered honest before God and your fellow-man and worthy of the name just.

That famous maxim of Paul[1] applies to the office of the wise king: anyone who does not hold exact concern for his own, denies the faith and Christ, and that person also is worse than any heathen | and who is pure and immaculate Cii
walks on the stony path of God, as priests declare in their sacred doctrine, here there will be a servant faithful to me, whom I will always love. And he himself will always attend to me in all these things.

Also all entertainment with money should be absent from the court of a great Prince, so that the player should be ejected under penalty of exile, having been outlawed for a certain time. He profanes the holy birthday of our Lord and all the following feast days at court and the remaining days of the year and all the nights through his mad inclination for gambling.

You cannot do whatever you want, you who are considered to be a great Prince, nor should you wish them rashly, or carry them out, but remember to carry out and strive for those things which will be considered just, advantageous, holy, pious, honest, and useful for the people all the time, and so that you may lead a pure life with moderation. You should prefer those things, which are pleasing to God and are salutary and attainable for all, and those things which look to the common good and those functions that uphold holy justice. May these things perpetually occupy the powers of the King, his mind and every fibre of his body and may they never recede from his heart, the King should consider these things during all nights and days. From these things, honour and virtue, praise, glory, and fame are acquired; from these things, the King will ascend to the vaults of heaven with his people.

Concerning the Duty of Everyone.

Whomever excels in his office rules on the basis of just government and sacred simplicity: he does not hold a mind implicated in cunning fraud or the art of deception: and he does not desire his own profit: | But as though God Cii(v)
were observing, he fulfils his duties, and walks the sacred path of simplicity: nor does he act so that an opportunity of speaking wrongly of him is given, or that

1 The passage is 1 Timothy 5:8—"si quis autem suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet fidem negavit et est infideli deterior" (but if any man have not care of his own and especially of those of his house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel).

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Aut strepat officii iusta querela sui:
Nec quaestum spectat, priuataue commoda lucri:
Sed quod iustitiae suggerit ipse tenor:
Neue simultates, aut odia caeca fouebit:
Nec sub blandenti corde venena teget:
Sed facit officium, rectum dictante tenorem
Natura semper, iustitiaque, suum:
Ille vir est vere prudentis nomine dignus.
Dignus & aeterni filius esse Dei.

DE VITIIS AVLAE.

Avlice si turpem ducis per crimina vitam,
Ne tibi promittas regna beata poli.
Moechus, & immundus, scortator, & omnis auarus
Non valet aeterni regna videre Dei.
Ambitio, crapula, ebrietas, sordensque libido,
Tetraque spurcities, mollitiesque pudens,
Fastus & impietas, iactantia, foeda voluptas,
Atque simultates, inuidiaeque truces,
Perpetuumque gulae studium, ventrisque fouendi
Deliciis variis, illecebrisque vagis,
Odia, contemptus, simulatio perfida verae,
Vafraque amicitiae, fraus mala, liuor edax,
Ocia, somnus iners, epulae, pompae, alea, laruae,
Neglectusque Dei, curaque nulla boni,
Ciii Lasciuusque iocus, petulans detractio famae,
Inuidia & blando pectore multa latens.
Magnifica & speciosa loqui, promittere multa,
Et prestare nihil, pacta, fidemve nihil.
Haec sunt quae magnis semper versantur in aulis
Crimina, & his vitiis aulica vita scatet.
Ergo si ad aeternam festinas aulice vitam,
Tempera ab his vitiis, saluus vt esse queas.

Ciii(v) DE NOVA VRBE PHILIPPO-
poli, a Philippo Hispaniae & Angliae Rege: sub
clarissimo viro: Dn. Lazaro Schuendio:
ibidem militum Tribuno: Consi-
liario Regio, & Equite Aurato extructa.
AN. 1556.

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justified complaint of his office might resound: nor does he seek gain, or the personal advantages of profit but what the very course of justice suggests: he shall not maintain rivalries, or rash hatreds: nor will he defend poisons within a flattering heart: but he carries out his office, with nature and justice always dictating his straight course: that man is truly worthy of the name prudent and to be a worthy son of eternal God.

On the Vices of Court.

Courtier, if you lead a sinful life of crime, you must not promise yourself the blessed kingdom of heaven. The adulterer, and the impure, the fornicator, and every avaricious person does not prevail to see the kingdom of the eternal God. Ambition, drunkenness, intoxication, and sordid lust, and disgraceful filthiness, and shameful weakness, pride and wickedness, boasting, disgraceful pleasure, as well as rivalries, and wild hatreds, and continuous eagerness of appetite, and with diverse pleasures favouring the stomach, and wandering enticements, odium, contempt, treacherous and cunning pretence of true friendship, evil deceit, bitter envy, haste, sluggish sleep, feasts, processions, gambling, mockeries, and neglects of God, and no concern of the good, | mischievous joking, insolent slander of reputation, and much envy hiding in a flattering heart. Saying magnificent and beautiful things, promising much, and in no way keeping to agreements or a pledge. These things are crimes which are always dwelling at the great courts, and the courtly life swarms with these vices. Therefore, courtier, if you hasten to eternal life, you must refrain from these vices, so that you may be delivered from sin. Ciii

Concerning the new city of Philipeville constructed by King Philip of Spain and England: constructed under the leadership of the famous noblemen, Lord Lazarus von Schwendi: military tribune at the same place: Royal Counsellor and decorated knight. Ciii(v)

Anno 1556.

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Clara Philippoplis [*sic.*], magno de Rege Philippo
Nomine deducto, structa est, vbi vastus & horrens
Eremus fuerat: loca vbi deserta ferarum:
Atque vbi nullus erat lapis ante, nec vlla ruina
Maceriae, antiqui fuerant nec rudera muri,
Sed nemus & dumi, sentes, sterelesque genistae,
Atque myricae humiles, vepres, rubusque, salicta,
Plurima vbi liquidas surgebat quercus in auras.
Regius omnigena clarus virtute Tribunus
Schuendius instituit ciui sua iura novello
Atque politiam induxit, sanctoque Senatu,
Legibus & sanctis ornauit, Consule primo
Facto a se & sanxit, quibus vrbs exculta vigeret,
Atque Magistratus sancti moderaminis ortus
Acciperet primos, populo crescente nouello
Ordine ciuili, quibus & Respublica tractim
Surgeret in iustam, moderanti Consule, formam.
Templa Dei posuit: xenodochia & ordine pulchro
Infirmis struxit, vario languore grauatis,
Cunctaque bis seno haec ferme sunt mense peracta,
Condita & extructa a Germano milite Regis:
Vrbs, populus, leges, Ciuilia iura, Potestas,
Civ Templa, domus, turres, agger, munitio, vallum,
Et fossae, & muri, facies totius & vrbis.

DE SANCTA SIMPLICITA-
te vitae, ex sacra scriptura.

Te custodiui, simplex quod corde fuisti.	Gen.20.
Corda probas, Deus, ipsa, et amas scio simplicitatem	1.par.29.
Viuentum in terra, rectus, simplex que manebit.	Pro.2.
Simpliciter que Deus gradientes protegit ipse	pro.2.
It qui simpliciter, fidenter & ambulat ille.	pro.10.
Semper simplicitas iustorum, diriget ipsos.	pro.11.
Pauper is est melior vadit qui in simplicitate,	pro.19.
In praua quam quisque via, sine Numine diues.	
Iustus is est vere graditur qui in simplicitate.	pro.20.
Quaerite eum in cordis vos semper simplicitate.	sap.1.
Vir fuit is simplex atque omni tempore rectus.	Iob.1.
De se nam Dominus simplum non proijcit vnquam.	Iob.8.

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The famous Philipeville, derived from the name of great King Philip, has been built, where a huge, rough wasteland had been: where the space had been uninhabited by wild animals: and where before, there had been no stone: not a single ruin of wall, nor were there lumps of ancient city wall, but forest, shrubs, thorns, and fruitless broom plants, and small tamarisks, brier-bushes, and bramble, willow groves, where the greatest oak grew in the pure breeze. The Royal Tribune, Schwendi, famous for all kinds of virtue, established his own laws and administration for the new citizen, and fitted the city out with a holy Senate and sacred laws and sanctioned them, after the first Consul had been appointed by him, through which the honoured city thrived, and welcomed the first births of the holy rule of the Magistrate, a new population growing from civil order, with whom the Commonwealth slowly grew in justice, led by the figure of the Consul. He placed the churches of God: and constructed hospices in pretty rows for the sick who were weakened by various illnesses. And in twice six months nearly all these measure were completed, built, and raised by the German soldier of the King: the city, the people, the statutes, Civil laws, the Rule, | the churches, the houses, citadels, the rampart, the fortification, the Civ
wall, and the ditches and city walls, and the appearance of the whole city.

Concerning the Sacred Simplicity of Life, taken from Sacred Scripture.

I have protected you, because your heart was simple. (Genesis 20[:5–6])
I know, Lord, you approve those very hearts, and you love simplicity. (1. Paralipomenon 29[:17])
The upright, the simple among the living shall remain on earth (Proverbs 2[:21])
And the Lord Himself protects those who walk simply. (Proverbs 2[:7])
He who goes simply, also walks faithfully. (Proverbs 10[:9])
The simplicity of the just, will always direct them. (Proverbs 11[:3])
The poor man who goes in simplicity, goes better
than a rich man who walks in the crooked way, without God. (Proverbs 19[:1])
Truly, the just is he who walks in simplicity. (Proverbs 20[:7])
You must always seek Him in simplicity of heart. (Wisdom 1[:1])
This man was simple and upright in all times. (Job 1[:1])
God does not ever cast out the simple from Him. (Job 8[:20])

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Iusti simplicitas prauis ridetur vbique.	Iob.12.
Quin potiusque omnes in simplicitate necemur.	1.Mac.28
Corpus erit clarum, si oculus sit lumine simplex.	Matth.6.
Prudens vt serpens sis, simplex vtque columba.	Mat.10.
In quocunque malo volo vos existere simplos.	Rom.16.
Vt natique sitis Domini simpli, absque querela.	philip.2.
Vtque puer simplex, nisi sit quis, monstrat Iesus,	
Non valet aeterni nancisci gaudia regni.	

FINIS.

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The simplicity of the just is everywhere laughed at by the wicked. (Job 12[:4])
In fact may we all preferably be killed in simplicity. (1Maccabees 28[2])
The body will be clear, if the eye is simple in life. (Matthew 6[:22])
You must be prudent as the snake, and simple as the dove. (Matthew 10[:16])
I prefer you to be simple in whatever evil. (Romans 16[:19])
So that you may be the simple sons of God, without grievance. (Philip 2[:15])
And as the simple son Jesus shows, it is impossible to obtain the joys of the everlasting kingdom if one is not so.

The End

2 In fact, 1Macc. 2:37.

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APPENDIX 4

Oratio Dominica

Translated by Matthew Tibble and Gary Vos

1 Introduction

Oratio Dominica is dedicated to the young Jan van der Burch, who was in London in 1557 when the work was printed. The work mentions his father, Adriaan van der Burch, President of the Great Council at Mechelen, who died whilst in England in the same year. The work is a kind of breviary in which Mameranus reproduces daily prayers and readings for his audience, repeating and shortening each multiple times in order to aid in their memorization. It also contains a statement on the ascetic lifestyle he advocated for his readers. A couple of prayers and short admonitions composed by Mameranus are included at the end. There is one on preventing wicked thoughts, a prayer for favourable winds for the Spanish fleet, an act of thanks for the safe arrival of the Spanish fleet, and three short statements concerning images, painters, and the error of the common people on matters of honour and etiquette. There is only one known edition of the work:

20. *Oratio Dominica. Symbolum Apostolorum, Mandata Catalogi. Sacramenta Ecclesiae, cum nonnullis aliis, carmine reddita. per Mameranum Poetam Laureatum*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1557. 4°, Col: A^4 B^2, fols. [6].
    Copies:
    – British Library, London, General Reference Collection, Shelfmark: C.25.f.14
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    References: USTC 505450.

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2 Text and Translation

Ai ORATIO
DOMINICA:
SYMBOLVM APOSTO-
lorum: Mandata Catalogi: Sa-
cramenta Ecclesiae, cum
nonnullis aliis, carm-
ine reddita:
PER
Mameranum Poetam
Laureatum.

LONDINI
Thomas Marsheus excudebat.
1557.

Ai(v) MAMERANUS AD
Lectorem.

Derecta fide & vita
Christiana.

Ad vitam non sola fides, sed facta beatam
Perducunt, fidei si sint coniuncta fideli:
Propositumque pium, atque humilis confessio culpae:
Veraque de puro manans contritio corde:
Labitur & quoties, toties si a labe resurgit,
Poeniteatque cito comissi criminis ipsum.
Et rogat, ignoscat, feruenti pectore, culpam
Ipse Deus: quantum poterit, se crimine ab omni
Semper & abstineat, roget ac Deus adiuuet ipsum,
Contra hostes, mundum, Satanam, carnemque petulcam.

Aii NOBILI ET EXIMIO TVM ERV-
ditione, tum virtutum ornamentis iuueni Dn. Io-
hanni Burchio, clarissimi viri Dn. Adriani
Burchii Equitis aurati: Philippi Hispan.
& Angliae Regis rerum Belgica-
rum Status Consiliarii ac Prae-

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The Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Commandments, and the Sacraments of the Church, with some others, rendered into verse. Ai

By Mameranus, Poet Laureate.

London.
Printed by Thomas Marsh.
1557.

Mameranus to
the Reader. Ai(v)

About the simple path of faith and the Christian way of life.

Not only faith but deeds also lead to the blessed life as long as they are bound up with unwavering faith: pious intention, and also humble confession of sin: and true contrition pouring forth from a pure heart: and just as often as one slips, just so often one rises up from a fall, and quickly regrets committing a sin. God Himself asks and forgives, with fervent heart: as much as one will be able to, one should always refrain from every crime, God will ask it and will help him against enemies, the world, and carnal pleasure.

To the young Lord John Burch, noble and excellent on account of both his erudition and the ornaments of virtue, son of the noblest man, Dn. Adriaan van der Burch the decorated knight of the Spanish and English king Philip, Aii

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sidis Flandriae, Filio:
Mameranus S.

Fertur ab antiquo iactata paremia vulgo,
Nec temere fallit: Patrem sequitur sua proles.
Nam tuus ille parens, vir clarus Regis in aula
Atque Eques auratus, tum Consiliarus idem
Regius et Praeses statuum, quos Flandria Regi,
Consilio spectata tenet, diuesque ministrat:
Artibus ingenuis cum se puerilibus annis
Imbuerit statim: niueos quibus atque decentes
Coniunxit mores, rigida virtute magistra:
Et studiosorum sit magnus vbique Patronus,
Promotorque pius semper, fautorque benignus:
Te quoque mox idem & rapuit puerilibus annis
Ad studium simile ac mores, occultior ardor,
Pectoris aethereis incendens intima flammis:
Vt iuuenis vix dum bis denos tempore vitae
Excedens annos, aequales viceris omnes
Ipse tuis studiis, longe & post terga relinquens,
Protinus in mediam processeris vsque palestram,
Artibus excultus claris, quibus inclyta morum,
Virtutumque insignia & ornamenta bonorum
Iunxisti, aeternos mox hinc laturus honores.
Aii(v) Ergo memor patrii moris, mi chare Iohannes,
Suscipe quos hodie pro lusu & tempore versus
Fecimus, emersit roseo cum aurora cubili,
Per prata ad Thamesis ripam, per ruris amoeni
Arua, per vmbrosos spaciantes vndique lucos:
Scilicet in numeros Domini nonnulla ligantes
Verba, ac Ecclesiae pregnantia dogmata sanctae,
Articulos fidei vt, mandata, modumque precandi,
Atque alia, hic tibi quae ostendet, nonnulla libellus.

Aiii ORATIO DOMINICA.

1 Qui Pater in caelis es noster, sanctificetur
2 Nomen vbique tuum: Adueniat possessio regni
3 Illa tui: Fiat semper tua sancta voluntas,
In caelo sicut, sic in tota vndique terra.

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and Counsellor of the state of Belgium, and President of Flanders: Mameranus greets.

A saying has been bandied about by the people from antiquity onwards; it is never wrong and says: the child follows his father. For your father, the illustrious man at the king's court and decorated knight, the same man who as royal counsellor and governor of territories, which Flanders rules for the King, having heeded his advice, and delivers riches to the King, he in his tender years immediately imbued himself with the noble arts, to which he joined decent and pure morals, with the aid of stern virtue: and may he always be a great patron of students everywhere, a pious promotor and benign supporter: now the same person has carried you off as well in your youthful years to similar study and morals, and to a more secret ardour of the heart, kindling the most intimate matters of your soul with ethereal flames: so that while a young man scarcely exceeding twenty years of his life, you have defeated all your peers by your study, and leaving [them] far back behind, immediately will have advanced into the centre of the ring, having developed noble skills, to which you have added decorations of morals, marks of honours, and ornaments of the nobles and to which you will soon bring eternal honours. | Therefore being mindful of your Aii(v)
father's morals, my beloved John, accept the verses which I composed, when dawn emerged from a bed of roses, as I walked through meadows to the bank of the Thames, through the farmlands of a beautiful country, through shady groves everywhere. Certainly, not a few words of the Lord are bound in metre, as well as important doctrines of the Church, such as the articles of faith and manner of prayer, and several other things which this little book will show you.

The Lord's Prayer. Aiii

Our Father who is in heaven, hallowed
Everywhere is your name: may that possession of your
Kingdom come: may your sacred will always be done,
Just as in heaven, thus everywhere on the whole of earth.

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4 Panem hodie nostrum da nobis quotidianum.
5 Dimitte & nobis sic omnia debita nostra,
Vt nos debenti dimittimus omnia nobis.
6 Et nos ne inducas, grauis vt tentatio vincat.
7 Sed Pater alme malo nos semper libera ab omni.

Eadem breuius.

1 Qvi Pater in caelis es noster, sanctificetur
2 Nomen vbique tuum: veniant tua regna: voluntas
3 Fiat vt in caelo tua semper, & in quoque terra:
4 Panem hodie nostrum da nobis quotidianum.
5 Dimitte offensas nobis, dimittimus vt nos
6 His qui nos laedunt: Neque nos tentatio vincat.
7 A Satana atque malis sed libera ab omnibus. Amen.

Eadem adhuc breuius per
quendam alium.

1 Svmme tuum nomen, Pater oro, sanctificetur.
2.3 Adueniatque tuum regnum: fiatque voluntas
4 In caelo & terra: Panem da quotidianum.
5 Exemplo nostro, dimittas debita nostra.
6.7 Nec sine tentari: sed prauo libera ab omni.

Salutatio Angelica.

Virgo insignis aue, diuino plena fauore
O Maria: est Dominus tecum: benedicta tu es inter
Faemineas turbas: fructus benedictus & ipse
Aiii(v) Ille tui ventris, Christus saluator Iesus.

Symbolum Apostolorum continens
12. Articulos fidei.

1 Credo in verum, vnumque deum patrem omnipotentem,
Factorem caeli & terrae & quae his cuncta tenentur.
2 Vnicum et in natum ipsius, qui est Christus Iusus,
Saluator noster, dominus, solusque redemptor.
3 Quem virgo peperit conceptum ex Pneumate sancto.
4 Et qui Pylato est sub iniquo iudice passus
Atque crucifixus: qui mortuus atque sepultus.
5 Et qui defunctus descendit ad infera regna:
Atque resurrexit, fulsit cum tertius orbi

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4 Give us today our daily bread,
5 And so forgive us all of our debts,
That we forgive all our debtors.
6 And may you not lead us astray, so that grave temptation succeeds.
7 But kind Father always liberate us from all evil.

The Same, more concise.

1 Our Father who is in heaven, hallowed
2 Everywhere is your name: may your will
3 Be done as in heaven always, and also on earth:
4 Give us today our daily bread.
5 Forgive us our offences, so that we forgive
6 Those who offend us: And may temptation not defeat us.
7 And from Satan's evils, however, liberate all. Amen.

The Same, even more briefly according to a certain other person.

1 O highest Father, I pray, your name be hallowed.
2.3 May your kingdom come: and your will be done
4 In heaven and earth: Give the daily bread.
5 For our example, forgive our debts.
6.7 Allow us not to be tempted: but liberate us from all wickedness.

The Greeting of the Angel.

Hail! Oh Mary, honoured Virgin, full with divine favour: the Lord is with you: blessed are you among female kind: Blessed is the fruit and He | himself of your womb, Jesus Christ the saviour. Aiii(v)

The Apostles' Creed containing the 12 Articles of Faith.

1 I believe in the one and true God the Father almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth and all of that which is held by these.
2 And in his only child, who is Jesus Christ,
Our Saviour, Lord, and sole redeemer.
3 Whom the Virgin bore from the Holy Spirit.
4 And who under the unjust juror Pilate suffered
And was crucified: who died and was buried.
5 And who, after his death, descended to the kingdom of the dead below:
And was resurrected, when from the dead he shone forth on earth as

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6 Sol a defunctis. Caelorum ascendit in arces:
Ad dextramque dei Patris sedet omnipotentis.
7 Indeque venturus, quo viuos atque sepultos
8 Iudicet. In sanctum quoque credo Spiritum & almum.
9 Catholicam Ecclesiam credo vnam existere sanctam,
Vnaque sanctorum quod sit communio sancta.
10 Et quod sit cunctae perfecta remissio culpae.
11 Quodque reuictura ad vitam est caro nostra perennem,
Cum postrema dies illuxerit illa, resurgens.
12 Et credo aeternam sic, post haec saecula, vitam.

Decem praecepta Domini
per alium.

1.2 Vnum crede Deum: nec iures vana per ipsum:
3.4 Sabbatha sanctifices: habeas in honore parentes:
5.6.7.8 Non sis occisor: fur: moechus: testis iniquus:
9.10 Alterius nuptam: rem nec cupias alienam.
Intrare ad vitam, si vis, mandata teneto.

Aiv Sacramenta Ecclesiae. 7.
Ordo, Coniugium, Fons, Confirmatio, Panis,
Vnctio postrema, & Confessio, sunt Sacramenta.
1 Babtismus [Baptismus] renouat te & ab omni crimine mundat.
2 Inque fide stabilit te Confirmatio sancta.
3 Foeda sacerdoti Confessio crimina pandit.
4 Caelestique cibo sacra Eucharistia pascit.
5 Coniugium effrenes carnis terit vndique motus [mortus].
6 Teque sacerdotem Christi sacer Ordo creabit.
7 Munit ad aeternam, cum migras, Vnctio vitam.

Peccata mortifera. 7.
Factus, Auaritia, & Venus, Ira, Gula, atque refrendens
Inuidia, & neruis soluens Ignauia corpus.

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6 A third sun. He ascended into the heights of heaven:
And sits to the right hand of almighty God the Father.
7 And thence he will come, and shall judge the living and the buried.
8 I believe in the Holy and nourishing Spirit.
9 I believe in the Catholic Church alone to be holy,
And that it is the only communion of Saints.
10 And that it is the perfect forgiveness of all sin.
11 And that our flesh is to be resurrected to everlasting life,
Rising again, when that last day dawns.
12 And thus I believe in the eternal life, after this worldly one.

The Ten Commandments of the Lord according to another.

1.2 Believe that there is one God: you shall not swear by him in vain:
3.4 You shall treat the Sabbath as holy: you shall hold your parents in honour:
5.6.7.8 You shall not be a murderer: thief: adulterer: unjust witness:
9.10 Covet the married of another: nor another's things.
If you wish to reach this life, you will obey these commands.

The Seven Sacraments of the Church. Aiv

The Sacraments are Order, Matrimony, Font, Confirmation, Bread, Extreme Unction, and Confession.[1]
1 Baptism renews you and cleanses you from all sin.
2 Confirmation makes you firm in the holy faith.
3 Confession reveals foul sins to the priest.
4 The holy Eucharist cultivates sacred rites through heavenly food.
5 Matrimony on all sides wears out the unbridled desires of the flesh.
6 The Holy Order will create you a priest of Christ.
7 Unction fortifies you when departing to eternal life.

The Seven Deadly Sins.

Pride, Avarice, and Lust, Wrath, Gluttony, and teeth-grinding Envy, and Idleness that loosens the body from its muscles.

1 Corresponding to Holy Orders, Marriage, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Anointing of the Sick, and Penance.

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1 S Nunquam te minimum rabiosa superbia vexet.
2 A Nec tu, si sapias, sis vllo tempore auarus.
3 L Nec te vrat vetitae, turpisque libidinis ardor.
4 I Nunquam te frangat vehementior impetus irae.
5 G Neue gulae studiumque vorax tua viscera tendat
6 I Inuidia vllius maceret te tabida nunquam
7 A Neue supina & iners vnquam te ignauia soluat.

Gloria Patri. &c.

Trino, vnique Deo aeterno sit Gloria Patri:
Vnico & aeterno simul eius Gloria Nato:
Spiritui pariter semper sit Gloria sancto:
Vt fuerat semper, sic nunc & semper in euum,

Idem breuius.

Gloria sit Patri, pariter Nato vnico & eius:
Prodit ab vtroque & sit Spiritui quoque sancto:
Sicut erat semper, sic nunc & semper in aeuum.

Aiv(v) Idem adhuc breuius.

Gloria sit Patri: Nato quoque: Spirituique
Sancte, vt ab aeterno, sic nunc & in omnia saecla.

Idem per Ambrosium.

Iamb. dimetr.	Idem per eundem.
Deo Patri sit gloria,	Laus, honor, virtus, gloria
Eiusque soli Filio	Deo Patri cum Filio
Cum Spiritu paraclito	Sancto simul Paraclito
Et nunc & in perpetuum.	In sempiterna saecula.

Prauae cogitationis & concupiscentiae initium suffocandum, mentemque alio vertendum.

Calca serpentis caput insani atque maligni:
Calca principium, quae mens, absurda reuoluit,
Cogitat atque cupit: statimque haec semina petrae
Paruula collidas, ne paulatim intus in herbas

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1 S Never let frenzied Pride disturb you in the slightest.
2 A Nor must you ever be greedy, if you can.
3 L Nor let the shameful fire of forbidden lust burn in you.
4 I And never let a too violent impetus of wrath break you.
5 G Nor let the voracious zeal of gluttony swell up your limbs you.
6 I or consuming envy of anyone ever enervate.
7 A And let not inert and slothful idleness unravel you.

Glory be to the Father, etc.

Glory be to the Trinity, to the eternal Father, and one God:
Likewise Glory to His eternal and only Son:
Equally Glory always be to the Holy Spirit:
As it always had been, so now and always in time.

The Same, briefer.

Glory be to the Father, and equally to His only Son:
And to the Holy Spirit also produced from both:
As it always was, so now and always in all time.

The Same, even more briefly. Aiv(v)

Glory be to the Father: and to the Son: and to the Holy Spirit,
As from the eternal, so now and in all ages.

The Same according to Ambrose.

in Iambic Dimeter.	The Same by the Same.
Glory be to God the Father,	Praise, honour, virtue, glory
And to His only Son	To God the Father as to the Son
With the Holy Spirit	Likewise to the Holy Spirit
Both now and in perpetuity.	In everlasting ages.

The beginning of wicked thinking and concupiscence must be suffocated, and the mind turned to something else.

Trample the head of the insane and malignant serpent. Trample the principle such as an absurd mind entertains, considers, desires. And immediately you must shatter these very small seeds on a crag, so that they do not slowly grow

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Luxurient laetas, dum molliter illa fouentur,
Dumque iaces lentus miles nimis atque supinus.
Excute de tepida, modo quae inflammescere coepit,
Talia mente cito: contraque insurge seuerus
Arbiter, & Christi mortem meditare cruentam
Cum quo nemo potest hominum vnquam viuere, quisquis
Talia cogitat atque facit, mollisque quiescit.

Oratio ad Deum, pro secundo vento
in classem Hispanicam.

Omnipotens aeterne Deus, qui cuncta creasti,
Caelum, tellurem, infernum, pontumque profundum,
Quicquid & his vsquum tectum, clausumque tenetur.
Bi Qui regis & vegetas: qui pascis quicquid in orbe est:
Quique iubes semper nos a te dante petamus.
Non etenim fallis, nec fit promissio inanis.
Namque tuum semper manet immutabile verbum,
Firmaque in aeternum tua stat promissio semper.
Ergo tui populi nunc respice vota precantis,
Quodque rogare facis, simul & fac impetret ipsum.
Funde Nothum in classem, Zephyrumque, Austumque furentem.
Classis ab occiduis ventosa per aequora Iberis
Propediem nobis, ventis impulsa secundis,
Adueniat, multis nunc expectata diebus.
Classis militiae neruos quae & robora praestet
Quaeque armata viris veniat, Plutoque profundo.
Hac sine nam nihil est, surgat quod miles in arma.
Hac sine non hostis poterit tuus ille proteruus
Communis pacis turbator publicus omnis
Totius mundi, Turcaeque ex foedere frater
Perfidus impuri, prostrato nomine Christi
Atque suo titulo, quo Christianissimus esset,
Exscindi Gallus: nec pax antiqua reduci
Illa tua in totum, quem turbat milite, mundum.
Hunc turbatorem pacis, Pater optime, tantum,
Qui non agnoscit tua quem benedictio multa
Et bonitas nimia in sese collata redundet,
Da facile exscindi, quo pax aeterna paretur
Armata per bella manu, virtute superna
Desuper insula, quo aeterna pace fruamur.
Haec ille est panis noster namquotidianus,

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amidst the thick grass, while they are lovingly nourished, while you, soldier, lie too comfortably, too relaxed. Quickly cast such things from your heated mind, before it begins to catch fire: and rise up as a stern arbiter against such matters, and meditate on the bloody death of Christ: with whom nobody of men is able to live, whosoever thinks and does such and rests easy.

A Prayer to the Lord for favourable wind
for the Spanish fleet.

O omnipotent and eternal God! You who created all, heaven, earth, Hell, and the deep sea, whatsoever and wherever in these is kept, impervious and protected. | You who rules and invigorates: who feeds everything existing in the world: Bi
and you who always commands us we beg from you who gives. And indeed you do not cheat, nor does a promise turn out to be hollow. For in fact your word always remains immutable, and your promise always remains firm in eternity. Therefore, now consider the vows of your imploring people, and what you make them ask, see to it that they simultaneously obtain just this. Pour Notos, Zephyr and Austri raging into the fleet. May the fleet arrive shortly to us from the westerly Iberians over the stormy sea, propelled by favourable winds, having been expected now for many days. May such a ship deliver sinews and physical strength to the army, may such a ship equipped with men and unlimited wealth arrive. For without this it means nothing, that the soldier rises with arms: nor will that ancient peace of yours be able to return in the whole world, which he throws in uproar by his army. O most kind Father! Who does not recognise him as such a great disturber of the peace, whom Your manifold blessing and exceeding goodness, heaped up in him, touch. Readily you must make to destroy him, so that eternal peace is achieved by armed hand in warfare, so that we enjoy eternal peace. For that, our daily bread, is the public peace of the

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Publica pax orbis, cunctis quem Gallus vbique
Et pater & natus, ter denis ampius annis
Bi(v) Continuis, saeuis bellorum fluctibus aufert,
Eripit & vastat, populatur, proterit, occat.

Gratiarum actio pro felici classis
Hispanicae aduentu.

Alme Deus grates magnas tibi reddimus omnes
Nostra quod audisti clementer vota, precesque:
Nec tantum classem pro votis miseris vnam,
Sed binam, aduersis ferme spirantibus auris,
Atque fere simul vno & eodem tempore vtramque:
Alteram ab Hispanis cum Pluto & milite terris.
Alteram ab Eois oneratam frugibus Euris:
Vt caelum & venti tellus & pontus & aer,
Cuncta simul nobis videantur vbique fauere,
Arma, viros, Cererem ex variis mittentia terris,
Extimulent animos, quo magna in praelia nostros
Contra excisorem turbatoremque furentem
Communis pacis, boni, & omnis vbique salutis.
Quo mox exciso, redeat pax publica mundo,
Nostraque tranquilla degamus tempora vita.

De imaginibus.

Hoc Deus est, quod imago docet: sed non deus ipsa
Hanc videas, sed mente colas, quod cernis in illa.
Sic & sanctorum, sanctos memorabit, imago,
Vt contemplando, vitam atque exempla sequaris.

In pictores.

Actum. 9.
11. 22. Mentitur pictor, Paulum qui pingit equestrem,
Cum clare constet, quid fuit ille pedes.
Actum. 7. Quique senem pingit, iuuenis cum constet aperte
Quod fuerit, sicut dogmata sacra docent.
Sic quoque discipulos, podibus qui pingere nudis
Bii Christi audent, se etiam pingere falsa sciant.
Vos, inquit, quando liqui sine calceamentis:
Respondent. nunquam: defuit atque nihil.
Sic ipsum Dominum quoque constat calceamentis
Vsum, & non nudis quod fuerit pedibus.

In errorem vuulgi, existimantis in ingressib. lo
cum parieti proximum esse honoratiorem:

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world, which the French father and son everywhere take away from all, | steals, Bi(v)
snatches, lays waste to, ravages, crushes and harrows for longer than 30 continuous years on the cruel waves of his wars.

Thanksgiving for the happy arrival
of the Spanish fleet.

O nourishing Lord! We all give great thanks to you because you mercifully heard our wishes and prayers: Not just a single ship in exchange for our miserable prayers, but two, with winds hardly ever having blown against them, and both almost simultaneously at one and the same time: one of the two from Spanish lands with wealth and soldiers. And the other ship from eastern countries, having been burdened with the fruits of Eurus: so that heaven, and the winds, and the earth, and the sea, and the air, all things simultaneously looked to favour us everywhere, our arms, our men, and our Ceres[food] sent from the various countries, so that they stimulate our hearts for great battles against the raging destroyer and disturber of communal peace, good, and of all things prosperous everywhere. With whom soon having been destroyed, may common peace return to the world, and we will pass our times in a tranquil life.

Concerning Images.

This, what the picture teaches, is God: but you may not consider this itself God, but you maintain in the mind, what you see in it. So too the image of saints commemorates the saints, so that you will follow their life and example by observing it.

Concerning Painters.

Acts 9. 11. 22. The painter deceives, who paints Paul on a horse, although it is well-known, that he was on foot.

Act 7. And so does he who paints him as an old man, although it is well-known, that he was a young man, as the holy doctrines teach. So too for those who dare to paint barefoot the disciples | of Christ, they know Bii
that they are painting falsehoods. Someone asks: when have I left you without shoes? And they answer: never, and nothing was lacking. Thus it is also well-known that the Lord Himself wore shoes, because he was not with bare feet.

Concerning the error of the common people, in thinking that the place closest to the wall is of more honour: although he alone was always and everywhere

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cum semper & vbique solus dextrae sit
honoratior, & nequaquam parieti vis
cinior. Libera enim illa manus
cum non est, honor non est.
Nam sic fit ferua
libertas.

> Ad dextram semper locus ipse honoratior extat:
> Non locus ad murum qui vergit, vulgus vt errat.
> Esse manus semper nam dextera libera debet
> Quacunque incedis, vel stabis, siue sedebis:
> Sic tu cuique suum recte praestabis honorem:
> Nec te corripiet stupida ignorantia & error.

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more honoured and who was closer to the right and by no means to the wall. Indeed when that hand is not free, there is no honour. For thus freedom is made a slave.

The more honoured place itself is always to the right hand: not the place which lies to the wall, as the common people err. For the hand always should be free on the right in every way whether you walk, or will stand, or will sit: thus you will rightly pay your respect to anyone and stupid ignorance and error will not seize you.

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APPENDIX 5

Bibliography of the Writings of Nicolaus Mameranus

Although Didier provides an extensive bibliography of the works attributable to Mameranus, there have been several discoveries in recent years including some during the course of my own research.[1] In the interest of future scholarship, therefore, I have compiled an updated bibliography. Where possible, I have directed readers to the relevant reference number in the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) and the Verzeichnis der Drucke des 16. Jahrhundert (VD16). Where a work is particularly rare (four copies or fewer extant) I have listed its locations.

1 Original Printed Works

1. *Nicolai Mamerani Commentarius de ultima Caroli v. Caesaris expeditione anno MDXLIV. Adversus Gallos suscepta*. s.l.: s.n., 1544[?]. Lost. References: [not catalogued].
   Reprint:
   – "Nicolai Mamerani Commentarius de Ultima Caroli v. Caesaris expeditione anno MDXLIV. Adversus Gallos suscepta", in Stephan Alexander Würdtwein, *Subsidia Diplomatica Ad Selecta Juris Ecclesiastici Germaniae*, vol. 10 (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Tobias Geobhardt, 1777), 386–406.

2. *De causa calamitatum huius temporis; non nullisque aliis, quae versa pagella indicabit, carmen. N. Mamerani Lucemburgensis. MDXLVI*. S.l.: s.n., 1546. 8°, Col: A^{8} [B]^{2}, fols. [10]. References: VD16 M 416; USTC 629131.

1 Nikolaus Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus, ein Luxemburger Humanist des XVI. Jahrhunderts am Hofe der Habsburger: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Freibourg-im-Brisgau: 1915), 270–290. For the same list but more succinctly formatted, see Jules Vannérus, "Nicolas Mameranus et sa famille", in *Biographie nationale du pays de Luxembourg*, ed. J. Mersch, vol. 2 (Luxembourg: 1949), 318–321. Other catalogues that readers may find useful are Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künst*, vol. 19 (Leipzig: 1739), 818–819; George Voigt, *Die Geschichtschreibung über den Schmalkaldischen Krieg* (Leipzig: 1874), 63–82; John Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook* (Berlin: 2006), 1245–1250.

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- Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Shelfmark: 71.Y.63.(4)
- Nationalbibliothéik, Luxembourg, Shelfmark: A.L./Mam. 6

3. *Iter Caesaris ex inferiore Germania ab anno 1545 usque Augustam Rheticam in superiore Germania, anni 1547 quo usque singulis diebus et ad quot milliaria per rexerit. Authore Mamerano Lucemburgensi. Augustae excudebat Philippus Ulhardus MDXLVII*. Augsburg: Philip Ulhart, 1547. 8°, Col: A-B^8, fols. [16]. References: VD16 M 437; USTC 668371.

Notes:
- Manuscript fragment: no. 54.
- Didier suggests the German translation, *"Ephemeris oder Tagregister der Reisen Kaiser Caroli V ... vom 15. Oktober 1545 bis zum 22. Juli 1547"* in Chyträus, David. *Chronicon*. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Henning Grosse, 1598. I have been unable to locate this, however.

Reprints:
- "Ephemeris Itinerum Caroli V Imperatori Toto Belli Germanici tempore, & ante, a die 15. Octobris, anni 1545. usque ad 23. Julii, & comitia Augustae celeberrima, anno 1547. celebrata", in Chyträus, David. *Davidis Chytraei Historici Clarissimi Saxonia, ab Anno Christi 1500. usque ad Annum M. DC. ...* Leipzig: Gross, 1611. pp. 956–967. References: USTC 2002645.

3.1. *Kurtzer außzug und eigentliche verzeichnus der gantzen histori aller handlung was sich Kay. May. furgenommenen Kriegßruestung halben, von dem M.D.XLV. jar. biß auff dise itzige zeit gegenwertigs Reichstags zu Augspurg wider die auffruerische rebellion etlicher Fuersten stedt und ire bundtsverwandten zugetragen hat*. Würtzburg: Müller, 1548. 4°, Col: [unknown], fols. [12]. References: VD16 M 441; USTC 671003.

3.2. *Iter Caesaris ex inferiore Germania ab anno 1545 usque Augustam Rheticam in superiore Germania, anni 1547 quo usque singulis diebus et ad quot milliaria per rexerit. Ingolstadii excudebat Alexander Weissenhorn. MDXLVIII*. Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1548. 8°, Col: A-B^8, fols. [16]. References: VD16 M 439; USTC 668372.

3.3. *Domini Caroli V Romani Imperatoris Augusti Iter ex inferiore Germania ab anno 1545 usque ad Comitia apud Augustam Rheticam indicta Anni 1547 quo usque singulis diebus et ad quot milliaris per rexerit ab Mamerano Lucemburgo annotatum iamque denuo revisum, auctum et emendatum. Augustae excudebat Philippus Ulhardus, anno MDXLVIII*. Augsburg: Philip Ulhart, 1548. 8°, Col: A-C^8 (B3 incorrectly signed as 'A3'), fols. [24]. References: VD16 M 438; USTC 625907.

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3.4. *Domini Caroli V Romani Imperatoris Augusti Iter ex inferiore Germania ab anno M. D. XL V. usque ad Comitia apud Augustam Rheticam indicta Anni M. D. XL VIII. quo usque singulis diebus et ad quot milliaris per rexerit ab Mamerano Lucemburgo annotatum iamque denuo revisum, auctum et emendatum. Anno M. D. XLVIII.* Leipzig: Valentin I. Bapst, 1548. 8°, Col: A-C^{8} (C8 blank), fols. [23]. References: VD16 M 440; USTC 625908.

4. *Investitura Regalium electoralis dignitatis, non nullorumque aliorum Dominiorum Mauritii Ducis Saxoniae 24. Februarii Anno 1548 Augustae facta: ubi simul et vestitus et incendi, sedendique in publicis huiusmodi, aliisque celebritatibus Caesaris aut Regis Romanorum et Electorum ordo describitur ab Mamerano Lucemburgo prosa et carmine descripta. Augustae Rheticae Philippus Ulhardus excudebat.* Augsburg: Philip Ulhart, 1548. 8°, Col: A-C^{8} ^{2}A^{8}, fols. [24], [8]. References: VD16 M 432; USTC 666987.

Notes:

– This volume contains two parts, the "*prosa*" (prose) and the "*carmen*" (song). The second part (the "*carmen*", in verse) is titled, *Investitura Regalium electoralis dignitatis, non nullorumque aliorum Dominiorum Mauritii Ducis Saxoniae 24. Februarii Anno 1548 Augustae facta: ubi simul et vestitus et incendi, sedendique in publicis huiusmodi, aliisque celebritatibus Caesaris aut Regis Romanorum et Electorum ordo describitur ab Mamerano Lucemburgo Carmine et prosa descripta*. NB. the reversal of "*Carmine et prosa*" at the end of the title.
– The two parts of this title occasionally appear individually (e.g. the poem at Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge, Shelfmark: SP.220(4) and the prose at Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Shelfmark: 26.V.41.(4).Adl)

Reprints:

– Schardius, Simon. *Historicum opus in quator tomos divisum. Tomus II. Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*. Basil: Heinrich Petri, 1574. pp. 1667–1684. References: VD16 S 2278; USTC 663609. Later editions of the *Historicum* also, 1614 and 1673.
– *Inauguratio Coronatio, Electioque aliquot Imperatorum: nempe a. D. Maximiliano Primo, ad D. Mathiam Austria cum Augustum etc. Item de investirura Electorum nec non Dissertatio Onuphrii Panvini ac Michaelis Beutheri, de Septemviratu Principum Electorum quando caeperit etc., quae sequens pagina latius demonstrat*. Hanover: Joannis Aubrius, 1613. pp. 254–284. References: USTC 2003292 and 2042512.

4.1. *Investitura Regalium Investitura Regalium electoralis dignitatis, non nullorumque aliorum Dominiorum Mauritii Ducis Saxoniae 24. Februarii Anno 1548 Augustae facta: ubi simul et vestitus et incendi, sedendique in publicis huiusmodi, aliisque celebritatibus Caesaris aut Regis Romanorum et Electorum*

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ordo describitur ab Mamerano Lucemburgo Carmine et prosa descripta. Iam denuo revisa et emendata. Augustae Rheticae, Philippus Ulhardus excudebat. Anno M.D.XLVIII. Augsburg: Philip Ulhart, 1548. 8°, Col: A^8, fols. [8]. References: VD16 M 431; USTC 666985.

Notes:

– As the title indicates, this is a revised and emended edition of the "*carmen*".

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5. *Catalogus omnium Primorum, et Ducum totius exercitus Caesaris super rebelleis et inobedienteis conscripti. Ingolstadii Excudebat Alexander Weissenhorn. Anno M. D. XLVIII.* Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1548. 4°, Col: A-B^{4}C^2 (C2 blank), fols. [9]. References: VD16 M 414; USTC 619850.

Notes:

– Manuscript: no. 61.

5.1. *Des gantzen Heerzugs Römischer kayserlicher Mayestät jüngst volfürter Kriegsrüstung vast eigentliche und wahrhaftige beschreibung mit sonderlicher erzelung der Namen aller Obersten, Commissarien, Hauptleuten und Befehlhaber der hohen Kriegsämpter von Fürsten, Herren, Grafen, Edelleuth und anderer tapferer namhafter Kriegsleut, teutscher, spanischer und italienischer Nation.* [Würzburg]: [Johann Müller], 1548. 4°, Col: a-b^4, fols. [8]. References: VD16; USTC 635185.

Copies:

– Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, Shelfmark: 4 Gs Flugschr. 248
– Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, Shelfmark: Hist.Germ.B.182,81
– British Library, London, Shelfmark: General Reference Collection 1315.c.40(6.)

5.2. *Erzelung aller furnemsten Obersten und Hauptleut des Keysers ganzen Heeres uber widerspennigen und ungehorsamen versamlet.* Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1548. 4°, Col: A^4 B^2 C^4, fols. [10]. References: VD16 M 415; USTC 653838.

Copies:

– Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: Res/4 Eur. 337,24
– Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Shelfmark: A: 124.4 Quod. (12)
– Biblioteca Diocesana Vigilianum, Trento, Shelfmark: dvgg2Y 111. 7
– Reformationsgeschichtliche Forschungsbibliothek, Wittenberg, Shelfmark: Kn A 242/1516

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6. *Domino Philippo, Caroli v. Caesaris Augusti Filio Hispaniarum Principi, de felici ipsius in Germaniam adventu, Carmen gratulatorium per N. Mameranum Lucemburgensem. Cum gratia & privilegio Caesareo. Lovanii Ex officina Bartholomaei Gravii. Anno. M. D. XLIX*. Louvain: Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1549. 4°, Col: A-B^4, fols. [8]. References: USTC 408608.
   Reprints:
   – "In Domini Philippi Caroli v. Caesaris Augusti Filii Hispaniarum Principis: Felicem in Germaniam adventum, anno 1549. Carmen gratulatorium, per Mameranum Lucemburgensem", in *Gratulatorium in sereniss*. Cologne: Soter, 1555, sigs. F1v–G4. References: VD16 ZV 10323; USTC 660592. See entry no. 19.
   – *Nicolai Mamerani Lucemburgensis. Domino Philippo II. de felici eius in Germaniam adventu*. In Janus Gruterus. *Delitiae C. Poetarum Belgicorum. Tertia pars*. Frankfurt: Nicolai Hoffmanni, 1614. pp. 386–396. References: USTC 2042605 and 2029743.

7. *Catalogus expeditionis rebellium principum ac civitatum Germaniae sub duobus potissimum generalibus praefectis Johanne Fréderico, Duce Electore Saxoniae: et Philippo Lantgravio Hessiae contra Carolum v Romanorum Imperatorem Augustum conscriptae et productae, anno 1546. Per Nicolaum Mameranum Lucemburgensem collectus. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Caesareo. Coloniae Typis & impensis Henrici Mamerani in platea Iudaica prope Praetorium, Henricus Artopaeus excudebat. Anno. 1550*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus and Henricus Artopaeus, 1550. 8°, Col: A-C^8 (C8 blank), fols. [23]. References: VD16 M 411; USTC 619703.
   Notes:
   – Commonly bound together with *Catalogus Familiae totius* (entry no. 8) and *Catalogus omnium Generalium* (entry no. 9)
   German translation:
   – "Verzeichnuss des Kriegzugs der rebellischen Fürsten unnd Etadt in Leutschlandt …", in Hortleder, Friedrich. *Der Römischen Keyser Und Königlichen Majesteten …* Vol. 2. Gotha: Endter, 1645. 8°, pp. 1962, at Ch. 24. pp. 414–424. References: USTC 2076513, 2063589, and 2102577.

8. *Catalogus Familiae totius aulae Caesareae per expeditionem adversus inobedientes, usque Augustam Rheticam: omni umque Principum, Comitum, Baronum Statuum, Ordinumque Imperii et extra Imperium, cum suis Consiliariis et Nobilibus ibidem in Comitiis Annno 1547 et 1548 praesentium. Per Nicolaum Mameranum Lucemburgum collectus Ad Serenissimumque Philippum Hispaniae Principem directus. Cum gratia & privilegio Caesareo. Coloniae apud Henricum Mameranum in platea Iudaica prope praetorium. Anno 1550*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranum, 1550. 8°, Col: A^8 [χ^2] B-K^8 (lacks K8), fols. [81]. References: VD16 M 412; USTC 619704.

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German translation:

– "Verzeichnüss des ganken Kenserlichen hoffs …", in Hortleder, Friedrich. *Der Römischen Keyser Und Königlichen Majesteten …* Vol. 2. Gotha: Endter, 1645. Ch. 19. pp. 326–375. References: USTC 2076513 and 2063589 and 2102577.

9. *Catalogus omnium Generalium, Tribunorum Ducum Primariorumque totius Exercitus Caroli V. Imperatoris Augusti et Fernandi Regis Romanorum super rebelleis et inobedienteis Germaniae quosdam Principes ac Civitates conscripti anno 1546. Authore Nicolae Mamerano Lucemburgensi. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Caesareo. Coloniae Typis & impensis Henrici Mamerani in platea Iudica prope Praetorium, Henricus Artopaeus excudebat. Anno. 1550*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus and Henricus Artopaeus, 1550. 8°, Col: a^8 A-E^8 F^4, fols. [52]. References: VD16 M 413; USTC 619705.

Notes:

– German manuscript: no. 62.

German translation:

– "Verzeichnüss aller Generaln Obristen HauptLeut und Commissarien über Caroli V …", in Hortleder, Friedrich. *Der Römischen Keyser Und Königlichen Majesteten …* Vol. 2. Gotha: Endter, 1645. Ch. 20. pp. 375–404. References: USTC 2076513 and 2063589 and 2102577.

10. *Carmen de Bezo las Manos*. Cologne: Henricus Artopaeus and Heinrich Mameranus[?], 1550. Lost. References: [not catalogued].

Notes:

– See Appendix 1 for full bibliographical analysis.

10.1. *Beso las manos. Et Point, dictionis Gallicae usus. Cum carmine de leone et asino. Nicolao Mamerano Poete Laureato Autore*. s.l.: s.n., s.d. [c. 1555]. 8°, Col: A^8, fols. [8]. References: [not catalogued].

Copies:

– Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels, Shelfmark: II 16.379 A (RP)
– Bibliothèque nationale, Luxembourg, Shelfmark: A.L./Mam. 10 (Dewey code 871.04).

10.2. *Beso Las Manos et Point Dictionis Gallicae vsvs. Cvm Carmine de Leone et Asino. Londini Thomas Marshus excudebat. 1557*. London: Marshe, 1557. 4°, Col: [A^4] B^2, fols. [6]. References: USTC 516043.

Copies:

– King's College Library, Cambridge, Shelfmark: M.58.37
– Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Special Collections, Shelfmark: THYSPF 186

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10.3. *Beso las manos clausula quid significet apud Hispanos ad N. Amicum*. s.l.: s.n., s.d. [ca. 1600]. Broadside, Col: [A]^{1}, fols. [1]. References: USTC 514844.
Copies:
– Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, Rare Books, Broadsides, Shelfmark: B.60.1

10.4. *Beso las manos, Clausula, quid significet apud hispanos, ad N. Amicvm*. s.l.: s.n., s.d. 4°, Col: A^{4} (A4v blank), fols. [4]. References: [not catalogued].
Copies:
– Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig, Special Collections, Shelfmark: Poet. lat.rec.173(K)4.

10.5. *Beso las manos, clausula, quid significet apud Hispanos, ad N. amicum. M.DC.XI*. S.l.: s.d., 1611. 4°, Col: A^{4} (A4v blank), fols. [4]. References: [not catalogued].
Copies:
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– Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Shelfmark: 79.Q.133
– Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: 899936 Res/4 P.o.lat. 742,1

11. "Lusus venatorius", in *Dictiones quae ab C et P incipiunt, carmine ita redditae ut, ex C fit Lusus venatorius Mamerani Lucemburgensis. Calvorum laus, Hugbaldi Galli ad Imperato rem Carolum Calvum. Et ex P, Porcorum pugna, Placentii. Et quaedam alia, variorum autorum, Nunc primum aedita, Basileae, in Noua platea, apud Iacobum Parcum, anno M. D. L*. Basel: Jacob Parcus, 1550. 4°, Col: A-B^{4}, fols. [8]. References: [not catalogued].
Copies:
– Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Shelfmark: 72.Z.9.(4).
Notes:
– The *Porcorum pugna* listed in the title, by Johannes Leo Plaisant, and those following by various authors are from an earlier printed title bound with this one, *Porcorum Pugna per P. Porcium Poetam. Paraclesis pro Potore. Perlege Porcorum pulcherrima praelia Potor. Potando poteris Placidam proferre Poësim. M. D. XLVII*. Basel: Jacob Parcus, 1547. 8°, Col: B^{8}, fols. [8].

11.1. *Acrostichia nempe Calvorum Laus, Lusus Venatorius. Porcorum Pugna Flandriae Laus Sybillina acrostichia. Et alia quaedam carmina. Nunc primùm aedita. Basileae, in Noua platea, apud Iacobum Parcum, anno M. D. LII*. Basel: Jacob Parcus, 1552. 8°, A-C^{8}, fols. [24]. References: VD16 A136; USTC 608601.

12. *Formula auspicandi, finiendique diem certis praecatiunculis ex sacris collectis, Christiano homini salutaris, per Nicolaum mameranum Lucemburgensum. L. XII*

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Tab. Ad divos iuste adeunto. Pietatem colento Opes amovento Qui amovento Qui secus faxit Deus vindex erit. Coloniae, ex officina Henrici Artopaei. Anno 1550, Cum gratia et privilegio Caesareo. Cologne: Henricus Artopaeus, 1550. 16°, Col: a-g^8 A-S^8, fols. [200]. References: USTC 657722; VD16 M426.

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12.1. *Formula auspicandi, finiendique diem certis praecatiunculis ex sacris collectis, Christiano homini salutaris, per Nicolaum mameranum Lucemburgensum. LXII. Tab. Ad divos iuste adeunto Pietatem colento Opes amovento Qui secus faxit Deus vindex erit. Antverpiae, excudebat Joannes Latius sub intersignio Salmonis. Anno M. D. LIII*. Antwerp, Hans de Laet, 1553. 16°, Col: a-f^8 A-P^8, fols. [168]. References: USTC 441188.

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– Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Kulturarvet, Shelfmark: 65:152

13. *Officium boni Episcopi ex divo Paulo Carmine Musarum perstrictum per Mameranum. Augustae Rheticae Philippus Ulhardus in platea Templaria D. Vdalrici excudebat. Anno Domini 1550*. Augsburg: Philipp I. Ulhart, 1550. 4°, Col: A^4, fols. [4]. References: VD16 M 445; USTC 679468.

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– British Library, London, Shelfmark: 11409.c.53
– Biblioteka PWT, Wrocław, Shelfmark: 1129,3
– Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: 4 P.o.lat. 108 (now lost).

14. *Scholae et eius officii generalis descriptio per Nicolaum Mameranum Lucemburgensem. Augustae Rheticae. Philippus Ulhardus excudebat. Cum gratia et privilegio Caesareo*. Augsburg: Philipp I. Ulhart, 1551. 8°, Col: A-B^8 C^4 (C4 blank), fols. [19]. References: VD16 M 447; USTC 692371.

15. *Tempestas Algerensis*. s.l.: s.n., 1551. Lost. References: [not catalogued].

Partial, earlier fragment:

– "Tempestas Algerensis", in *Electio et Coronatio Caroli v*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1550. sig. K8v [no. 43].

16. *Von Anrichtung des neüwen Evangelii und der alten Libertet oder Freyheyt Teutscher Nation an die Römisch Kayserlich Mayestat geschriben*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1552. 4°, A-E^4 (lacks E4), fols. [19]. References: VD16 M 450; USTC 702722.

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Notes:
- Manuscript: no. 65.
- This printed edition is probably the earlier of the two editions by Heinrich in 1552 because it contains several errors that are corrected in the other, expanded edition.

Reprints:
- [Partial:] "*Von anrichtung des newen Evangelii, und der alten Libertet oder Freyheit Teutscher Nation …*", in Druffel, August von. *Besonderer Rücksicht Auf Bayerns Fürstenhaus*. Vol. 3 (Munich: Himmer, 1882), pp. 384–394.

16.1. *Von Anrichtung des newen Evangelii und der alten libertet oder freyheit Teutscher nation an die Roemisch Kayser. Mayestat geschriben*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1552. Col: A-G^4 (G4 blank), fols. [27]. References: VD16 M 449; USTC 702723.

17. *Confessio delictorum vocalis seu priuata ad aures sacerdotis, vicarii Christi: et quid de ea veteres, recentesque sentiant, brevis et transcursoria relatio ex utrisque collecta: per Mameranum Lucemburgensem. Zach. 1. Convertimini ad me, & convertar ad vos. Proverb. 28. Qui autem confessus fuerit, & reliquerit ea, misericordiam consequetur. Anno 1553*. Augsburg: Philipp I. Ulhart, 1553. 8°, Col: A-D^8, fols. [32]. References: VD16 M 417; USTC 624478.

17.1. *Confessio delictorum vocalis seu priuata ad aures sacerdotis, vicarii Christi: et quid de ea veteres, recentesque sentiant, brevis et transcursoria relatio ex utrisque collecta: per Mameranum Lucemburgensem. Zach. 1. Convertimini ad me, & convertar ad vos. Proverb. 28. Qui autem confessus fuerit, & reliquerit ea, misericordiam consequetur. Anno 1553*. Augsburg: Ulhart, 1553, 8°, Col: a-e^8 f^4 g^8, fols. [52]. References: VD16 M 418; USTC 624479.

18. *Epithalamium generosi juvenis, Jacobi Comitis a Montort et generosae virginis Catharinae Antonii Fuggeri filiae. Augustae in nuptiis 7. Idus Januarii celebratis, oblatum*. Augsburg: Philipp I. Ulhart, 1553. 4°, A^4 B^2 C^4, fols. [10]. References: USTC 652788; VD16 M 423.

Notes:
- Records in USTC and VD16 for the two editions confuse them.

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18.1. *Epithalamium generosi juvenis, Jacobi Comitis a Montort et generosae virginis Catharinae Antonii Fuggeri filiae. Augustae in nuptiis 7. Idus Januarii celebratis, oblatum*. Augsburg: Ulhart, 1553, 4°, A^4 B^2 C^4, fols. [10]. References: VD16 M 424; USTC 652789.

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Notes:
– Improved edition, identifiable by the word *choreas* on sig. A1v, final line.

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19. *Gratulatorium in serenissimi potentissimique Principis ac Domini Dn. Philippi, Regis Angliae, Franciae, Hierusalem, citeriosis Siciliae, Hyberniae etc. Defensoris fidei, Principis Hispaniarum Archiducis Austriae, Ducis Burgundiae, Mediolani, Brabantiae, Lucemburgiae, etc. in Belgiam, anno MDLV. V. Septembris adventum. Item Gratulatorium in eiusdem 19 Julii anno 1554, in Angliam adventum. Et Epithalamium nuptiarum eiusdem cum Maria serenissima Regina Angliae. Cum adiuncto Gratulatorio primi aduentus eiusdem in Germaniam, in mense martio an. 1549. Auctore Mamerano Lucemburgensi. Coloniae Per Iacobum Soterem. Anno 1555*. Cologne: Jacob Soter, 1555. 4°, Col: A-G^4, fols. [28]. References: VD16 ZV 10323; USTC 660592 (composite title; parts are occasionally given additional catalogue numbers: VD16 M 425, M 427, M 428, M 429; USTC 660539).

20. *Oratio Dominica. Symbolum Apostolorum, Mandata Catalogi. Sacramenta Ecclesiae, cum nonnullis aliis, carmine reddita. per Mameranum Poetam Laureatum*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1557. 4°, Col: A^4 B^2, fols. [6]. References: USTC 505450.
Copies:
– British Library, London, General Reference Collection, Shelfmark: C.25.f.14
– Hatfield House, Hatfield, Shelfmark: uncatalogued

21. *Strena Mamerani ad Sacrae Regiae Hispaniae et Angliae Maiestatis Finantiarum Praefectos, videlicet Quatour Davidis Psalmi 1. 14. 36 et 79. versu heroico redditi*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1557. 4°, Col: A-C^4 (C4 blank), fols. [11]. References: VD16 ZV 10324; USTC 693110.
Copies:
– Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Shelfmark: 406442-B ALT MAG
– Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Hauptbibliothek, Erlangen, Shelfmark: H61/4 TREW.M 319

22. *Psalmi Davidis quinque 1. 14. 36. 39. et. 79. heroico versu in gratiam serenissimae Reginae Angliae redditi, cum subjecto de officio Principis carmine per Nicolaum Mameranum Lucemburgensem Poetam Laureatum*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1557. 4°, A-C^4, fols. [12]. References: USTC 518033.

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- Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, Shelfmark: 4^0 11484

23. "Ad illustrem clarissimumqve virum domi: Sigismundum liberum Baronem Herberstain, Equitem auratum regiae Maiesta: Consiliarium & ad Polonos atque Moscouitas Oratorem", in *Gratae posteritati Sigismundus liber baro in Herbertein, Neiperg et Guetenhag, primarius ducatus Carinthiae heaereditariusque & Camerarius & Dapifer &c. imunitate meritorum ergo donatus, actiones suas a puero ad annum usque aetatis suae septuagesimum tertium brevi commentariolo notatas reliquit*. Vienna: Raphael Hofhalter, 1558. 4º, A-N^4, fols. [52], at sig. L4r–v. References: VD16 ZV 7721; USTC 660522.
Copies:
- National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, Shelfmark: 13.9.4.52
- Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Shelfmark: A: 258.3 Hist. (1)

24. *Strena Nicolai Mamerani ab Lucemburgo Poetae Laureati Circa novi Anni Brabantici initium, incipientis a Pascha 1560. De asino Sancti Maximini Romam euntis ab urso obiter devorato. Bruxellae excudebat Michael ab Hamont bibliopola a Regia Maiestate admissus. Cum privilegio. Subsign. Ph. De Lens*. Brussels: Michael Hamontanus, 1560. 8º, Col: [unknown], fols. [8]. Lost. References: [not catalogued].
Notes:
- The only two known copies, lost now, were held in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Refs: 4 P.o.lat. 301; 4 P.o.lat. 59.

24.1. *Strena Mamerani ab Lucemburgo, Poetae Laureati, Circa Novi Anni Brabantici et curialis initium, incipientis à Pascha. 1560. De asino Sancti Maximini, Romam euntis, ab Vrso obiter devorato. Antuerpiae. Apud Ioannem Withagium, typographum iuratum, & à Caesarea Maiestate admissum, cum privilegio. Subsign. Ph. de Lens*. Antwerp: Johann Withagium, 1560, 4º, Col: A-B^4 $[\chi]^2$, fols. [10]. References: [not catalogued].
Copies:
- Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, Shelfmark: KW 1704 C 42

25. *Clarissimi oratoris et Poetae Laureati, Nicolai Mamerani ab Lucemburgo, Oratio pro Memoria et de Eloquentia in integrum restituenda et de triplici genere Oratorum, tribusque praecipuis Orationis partibus, nova et paradoxa enarratio. Lovanii habita in Disputationibus Quodlibeticis, die 14. Decemberis 1560. Bruxellae, Excudit Michael Hamontanus / Sculptor et Typographus iuratus / et Regia Maiestate admissus. Cum permissu Catholicae Regiae Maiestatis. 1561*. Brussels: Michael Hamontanus, 1561. 4º, a-b^4 A-G^4, fols. [36]. References: USTC 409261.

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- British Library, London, Shelfmark: 10630.e.13.(16.)
- Universitätsbibliothek, Freiburg im Breisgau, Shelfmark: D 4902, f

26. *Descriptio Novi Aquaeductus seu Navigationis Novae, Urbis Bruxellanae absolute anno 1561, Authore Nicolao Mamerano ab Lucemburgo Poeta Laureato. Cum privilegio Imperatorio generali ac Regio. Bruxellae. Excudit Michael Hamontanus, sculptor et typographus iuratus, et a Regia Maiestate admissus. Anno 1562*. Brussels: Michael Hamontanus, 1562. 4°, Col: [unknown], fols. [8]. Lost. References: [not catalogued].

Notes:
- The only known copy, lost now, was apparently held in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: 4 P.o.lat. 410.

26.1. *Nicolai Mamerani Lucemburgensis, Poetae Laureati, Aquaeductus Bruxellanus absolutus anno 1561. Cum privilegio Imperatorio generali ac Regio. Lovanii, apud Reynerum Velpium typographum iuratum, anno 1562*. Louvain: Reinerus Velpius, 1562, 4°, Col: [unknown], fols. [8]. References: USTC 409369, incorrect holding information.

Notes:
- Manuscript: no. 76.

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26.2. *Descriptio Aquaeductus seu Navigationis urbis Bruxellanae absolute. Anno 1561. Authore Nicolao Mameranu ab Lucemburgo Poeta Laureato. secunda editio. Cum privilegio Imperatorio generali ac Regio. Bruxellis. Typis Petri van de Velde, prope Monetam, sub signo typographiae novae 1681. Iuxta exemplar repertum in archivis Aquaeductus, primo impressum anno 1562*. Brussels: Petri vande Velde, 1681. 4°, A^4 $[\chi]^1$ B^4, fols. [9]. References: [not catalogued].

Copies:
- Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, Shelfmark: KW 766 C 59.

26.3. *Descriptio Aquaeductus seu Navigationis Urbis Bruxellanae absolute anno 1561. Authore Nicolao Mamerano ab Lucemburgo Poeta Laureato. Editio tertia. Juxta secundam editionem Bruxellis, typis Petri vande Veldi, prope Monetam, sub signo typographiae novae 1681. Ad exemplar repertum in archivis Aquaeductus primo impressum, anno 1562. Cum privilegio Imperatorio generali ac Regio. Carolus De Vos renovat jubilaei saeculo secondo canalis Bruxellensis*. Brussels: Charles de Vos, 1750. 4°, $[a]^4$ $A\text{-}C^4$ $[\chi]^2$ $D\text{-}G^4$, fols. [34]. References: [not catalogued (due to year)].

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27. "Nicolaus Mameranus ad Lectorem", in *Proverbia Teutonica Latinitate Donata, collectore et interprete T. Nicolao Zegero Bruxellano, accuratius iam tertium recognita, auctaque, cum indice & Calendario Romano, carmine. Ecclesiastici. 39. A. Occulta proverbiorum exquiret sapiens: & in absconditis parabolarum conversabitur. Antuerpiae. Ex Officina Ioannis Loëi. Anno M. D. LXIII. Cum Gratia & Privilegio*. Edited by Nicolaus Tacite Zegers. Antwerp: Jan van der Loe [Loëus], 1563. 8º, Col: A-G^{8} H^{4} (E1 signed 'C'), fols. [60], at sig. A1v. References: USTC 411148; 859771.
Copies:
– British Library, London, Shelfmark: G.17635
– Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels, Shelfmark: L.P.3.313 A
– Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Shelfmark: *38.E.250

28. *Carmen Mamerani Poetae Laureati ad omnes christianos Principes et urbium Magistratus, contra templarios peripateticos ac prophanatores. Cum adjuncto carmine de vera fide, sacramento altaris et contra sacramentarios, anabaptistas, vitaeque monasticae calumniatores*. Brussels: Michael Hamontanus 1564. 4º, A-D^{4} E^{2}, fols. [18]. References: USTC 409546.
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– Staats- Und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, Shelfmark: 4 NL 316

29. *De hieme anni cIↃ IↃ LXIV*. s.l.: s.n., 1564[?]. References: [not catalogued].
Notes:
– Original now lost. Listed in Pierre-François Sweerts, *Athenae Belgicae* (Antwerp: William of Tungris(?), 1628), 579; Joannis Francisci Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica, sive virorum in Belgio vita, scriptisque illustrium catalogus, librorumque nomenclatura*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Peter Foppens, 1730), 914.

30. *Formulae quaedam breves ac perstrictae benedictionis et gratiarum mensae*. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1565. Broadside, Col: [A]^{1}, fols. [1]. References: USTC 409667.
Copies:
– Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, Shelfmark: Arch. 1230, fol. 714

31. *Der anhängig thail des Catalogi von Römischer Kayserlicher Mayestat und dann aller Fürsten und Herren des Reichs, so auf dem Reichstag zu Augspurg gewesen Räth und Hojgesind. Mit Zusatz des Rennspils so den 12. May auf dem Weinmarkle vor Kayserlicher Mayestat Palast gehalten. Und Beschluss des Reichstags. Mit Römisch Kayserlicher Mayestat Freyheit. Getruckt ze Dillingen durch Sebaldum*

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Mayer. Anno Domini 1566. Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1566. 4°, Col: A-E⁴ (E4 blank), fols. [19]. References: VD16 M 444; USTC 632808.

32. *Epithalamia duo illustrissimi domini Alexandri Farnesii principis Parmae ac Placentiae, et illustrissimae dominae Mariae a Portugallia, catholici regis Hispaniae Philippi consobrinae, alterum authore Nicolae Mamerano P. L. Alterum Petro Mamerano adolescente, ex quo lector rerum omnium in nuptiis gestarum integram deprehendet historiam. Additum praeterea de Navigatione in Portugalliam, de ingressu Sponsae Bruxellam et de Genealogia Regum Portugalliae. Antuerpiae, Ex officina Christophori Plantini, cIↃ IↃ LXVI. Cum privilegio*. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1566. 4°, Col: a-f⁴, fols. [24]. References: USTC 401252.

33. *Kurzer Bericht welcher gestalt von der Römischen Keyerlichen Mayestat Kaiser Maximilian diss Namens dem andern der Churfürstlichen Gnaden Reichs Lehen und Regalien auf den jetzigen Irer Kayserlichen Mayestat ersten Reichstag allhier zu Augspurg den 23. des Monats Aprilis öffentlich unterm Himmel empfangen und wie es allenthalben darmit zugangen. M.D. LXVI. Getruckt zu Augspurg, durch Mattheum Franken*. Augsburg: Mattheum Franken, 1566. 4°, Col: A-C⁴ D² (D2v blank), fols. [14]. References: USTC 669538; 669537; 669536.
Reprint:
– *Kurze und eigentliche Verzeychnuss* (Augsburg: Matthäus Franck, 1566) [no. 34], sigs. Q3–S2v.

34. *Kurze und eigentliche Verzeychnuss der Römischen Kayerlichen Mayesiat und Ihrer Mayestat Gemahels Hofstats und aller anwesenden Churfürsten, Fürsten, Gaistlichen und Weltlichen Grafen, Herren und Stenden, auch ausslendischer König, Potentaten und Herrschafien, Legaten und Oratorn, so auf dem Reichstag zu Augspurg im Jar 1566 under der Regierung des allerdurch lauchtigsten, grossmechtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Maximiliani des andern, Römischen Kaysers gehalten, daselbst erschie nen seind, sampt derselben Räth, Dienern und Hof gesind. Auch mit eygentlicher Beschreybung wie der ChurfürstHerzog Augustus zu Sachssen und Herr Georg Teutsch Maister ire Regalien und Lehen von Irer Kayserlichen Mayestät empfangen haben. Item Kayserlicher Mayestät sampt der Stadt Augspurg Ordnung und Satzung, so auf dem Reichstag daselbst gehalten worden. Durch Nicolaum Mameranum von Lützenburg P. L. verfast und in Druck verschaft. Cum gratia et privilegio S. C. M. Gedruckt zu Augspurg, durch Matheum Franken*. Augsburg: Matthäus Franck, 1566. 4°, Col: A-V⁴ X² (X2v blank), fols. [82]. References: VD16 M 443; USTC 671307.
Modern Edition:
– *Kurtze und eigentliche Verzeychnus der Teilnehmer am Reichstag zu Augsburg 1566*. Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1985.

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35. "In Figuram E Regione Positam. Nicolai Mamerani Poetae Laureati, Carmen", in Eytzinger, Michaël. *De Austria, de septem imperatoribus Austriae, deque 80, ex eadem familia, imperatore Maximiliano II Romanorum, Hungariae, atque Bohemiae, &c. rege termaximo. Ubi Sacris in literis designentur. Idque Multis annorum milibus antè, quam in natura rerum existerent. Michaele ab Eytzing Sacrae Caesaris Maiestatis Aulae familiari Authore. Viennae Austriae excudebat Caspar Stainhofer. Anno M. D. LXVII. Mense Martio, Cum Privilegio Caesareo*. Vienna: Caspar Stainhoser, 1567. 4°, Col: A-B^4 [C]^2, fols. [10], at sig. A3v. References: VD16 E 4779; USTC 628365.

2 Printed Works Edited by Mameranus

36. Justinianus I. *Imperatoris Justiniani sacratissimi principis, Volumen legum, quod vocant, totius juris civilis, velut colophon ac complementum, ad doctorum virorum adnotationes, antiquorumque codicum collationem recèns quàm fieri potuit, diligenter et accuratè recognitum, inque, quàm antehàc ordinem expeditiorem repositum, quemadmodum proximè annexa indicabit pagina, summariè eius rei rationem perstingens. Tres postrema libri Codicis, scilicet decimus, undecimus, duodecimus. Authenticorum liber, in novem Collationes distinctus. Liber Feudorum, qui à nonnullis Collatio decima dicitur. Extravagantes duae Henrici septimi, Imperatoris, quas nonnulli undecomam Collationem appellant. Constitutiones Friderichi secondi, Imperatoris. Tractatus de pace Constantiae. Canones sanctorum apostolorum. Parisiis apud Claudium Chavallonium. Anno Domini 1536*. Paris: Claude Chevallon, 1536. 8°, Col: aa-bb^8 a-z^8 A-O^8 (bb8 and O8v blank), fols. [312]. References: USTC 147180.

37. Justinianus I. *Codicis, ex repetita prelectione libri novem priores, ad veterum recentiumque exemplarium collationem, quoad fieri potuit, fideliter ac perdiligenter recogniti repurgatique*. Paris: Claude Chevallon, 1537. 8°, Col: A-D^8 a-z^8 ^{2}A-R^8 aa-zz^8 AA-KK^8 LL^4 (LL4 blank), fols. [620]. References: USTC 147205.

38. Busche, Hermann von dem. *Flora Hermanni Buschii Pasiphili in Amplissimae Clarissimaeque Urbis Agrippinae Colonae laudem olim ab eodem authore recognita ac ornatissimo eruditissimoque viro artium & utriusque Juris Doctori & Professori Ordinario Adolpho Roborio Agrippnensi nuncupatim dedicata. Accessère huic Florae veterum quorundam recentiumque Clarorum Scriptorum in eiusdem Vrbis commendationem celebres aliquot sententiae*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1550. 8°, Col: A-B^8, fols. [16]. References: VD16 B 9897; USTC 657585.

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39. Clénard, Nicolas. *De modo docendi pueros analphabeticos, brevi omnino temporis spatio Latine loqui praesertim intra privatos parietes exercendaeque Latinae linguae praeceptiones aliquot Per Nicolaum Clenardum. Cum Gratia et Privilegio Caesareo. Coloniae apud Henricum Mameranum in platea Judaica*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1550[?]. 8°, Col: A-G^8 H^4, fols. [60]. References: [not catalogued in USTC].
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– Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, Shelfmark: S 6.20

39.1. *Nova methodus docendi pueros analphabeticos, brevi omnino temporis spatio Latinè loqui, praesertim intra privatos parietes. Item, Praeceptiones aliquot Latinae Linguae exercendae pertutiles. Per Nicolaum Clenardum, trium Linguarum peritissimum, earundemque foelicissimum praeceptorem, olim editae. His in usum provectiorum adiunximus, doctissimi viri Celii Secundi Curionis, De ratione Studii et Styli, elegantissimam et utilissimam Epistolam*. Frankfurt: Nicolaus Basse, 1576. 8°, Col: A-D^8 (D8r blank), fols. [32]. References: VD16 C 4180; USTC 678515.

39.2. *Nova methodus docendi pueros analphabeticos. Item, Praeceptiones aliquot Latinae Linguae exercendae pertutiles. Per Nicolaum Clenardum, trium Linguarum peritissimum, earundemque foelicissimum praeceptorem, olim editae. His in usum provectiorum adiunximus, doctissimi viri Celii Secundi Curionis, De ratione Studii et Styli, elegantissimam et utilissimam Epistolam. Francofurti ad Moenum. M. D. LXXVII*. Frankfurt: Nicolaus Basse, 1577. 8°, Col: A-E^8, fols. [40]. References: VD16 C 4181; USTC 678514.
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– Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: L.lat. 141 c; L.lat. 1015h
– Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, Shelfmark: LR 369

40. Cleofilo, Francesco Ottavio, and Macario Muzio. *Coetus poetarum, libellus elegantissimus, plenus ingenii ac eruditionis, rerumque memorabilium & scitu dignissimarum, authore Octauio Cleophilo Phanensi, Poetae venustissimo. Item, de Castimonia et Facultate Poetarum epistole duae gravissime, macarii mutii, equitis camertis. Coloniae Hanricus Mameranus excudebat in platea Judaica. Anno 1550*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1550. 8°, Col: A-C^8 (C8v blank), fols. [24]. References: VD16 C 4120; USTC 622984.

41. Muzio, Macario, and Hermann von dem Busche. *Triumphus Christi gravi et eleganti carmine cum maiestate Heroica descriptus per Macarium Mutium Equitem Camertem. Item De vita, miraculis & passione Christi sertum rosaceum Hermanni*

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Buschii ad Dominam Virginem Mariam. Coloniae apud Henricum Mameranum in platea Judaica prope praetorium. Anno 1550. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1550. 4°, Col: A-C⁴, fols. [12]. References: VD16 M 7346; USTC 699504.

42. Paschasius, Radbertus. *Paschasii de corpore et sanguine Domini liber omni precio superior: omni Christiano homini pernecessarius: antea hagenoae perfide ac dedita opera deprauatus et ita corruptè aeditus, ut nullus unquam alius magis: nunc pristinae suae integritati ex vetustissimis exemplaribus Scriptis, diligenti et exacta collatione facta restitutus, per Nicolaum Mameranum Lucemburgensem. Cum cognition et approbatione Theologorum Universitatis Coloniensis. Cum Gratia et Privilegio Caesareo ad decennium. Coloniae Henricus Mameranus excudebat*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1550. 8°, Col: A-S⁸ (S8v blank), fols. [144]. References: VD16 P 822; USTC 682973.

43. Sabinus, Georg, and Nicolaus Mameranus. *Electio et Coronatio Caroli v. Imperatoris Augusti docte et eleganter per Georgium Sabinum Brandeburgensem conscripta. Libellus Imperii dignitatem majestatemque complectens, dignusque qui intercidere debe at nunquam. Ei accessit iam recens ad calcem gestorum ejus dem Caroli v. Caesaris ab initio Imperii usque huc compendiosa ac perstricta relatio per Nicolaum Mameranum Lucemburgensem. Cum gratia et privilegio Caesareo ad decennium. Coloniae Henricus Mameranus exudebat*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1550. 8°, Col: A⁸ ²A-M⁸ (M8v blank), fols. [104]. References: [not catalogued]
Notes:
– Often misattributed to Hartmann Maurus or confused with the following entry, no. 44.

44. Maurus, Hartmann. *Coronatio Caroli v. Caesaris Augusti apud Aquisgranum per Hartmannum Maurum Hermanni Archiepiscopi Coloniensis Consiliarium qui ei Coronationi inter fuit descripta. Sabinus Electionem et Consilia, his rei gestae in coronatione ac pompae celebritatem continet. Cum gratia et privilegio Caesareo ad decennium. Coloniae Henricus Mameranus excudebat. Anno. 1550*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1550. 8°, A-I⁸ (I8v blank), fols. [72]. References: VD16 M 5848 and 5849; USTC 625562 and 625563.
Notes:
– When printing the work of Georg Sabinus (no. 43), Mameranus showed a copy to his patron and friend, Johannes Lilius. Lilius apparently pointed Mameranus towards the work of Hartmann Maurus, who had written eloquently on the coronation of Charles v (printing a volume in Nuremberg with Friedrich Peypus in 1523). Maurus, councillor to the Archbishop of Cologne, had been

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personally present at the celebration and therefore included much first-hand detail not found in other accounts. Mameranus accordingly found it worthwhile to publish the piece as a counterpart to his edition of Sabinus.

Reprints:

– Schardius, Simon. *Historicum opus in quator tomos divisum. Tomus II. Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*. Basil: Henricpetrina, 1574. pp. 827–874.

45. Sabinus, Georg, Nicolaus Mameranus, Hartmann Maurus. *Opus elegantissimum continens consilia et quasdam orationes ac disputationes Electorum Principum in eligendo caesare, uti actum cum D. Carolo V et juramenta quibus se Caesar Imperio obligat, per Georgium Sabinum brandenburg. latinissime conscriptum. Item Relatio omnium gestorum Carol. V. Caesaris per Nicolaum Mameranum lucemburgensem. His accessit ad calcem Pompa celeberrima, quae in coronatione Caesarum apparari solet. Cum obseruatione omnium Electorum ac Imperij Principum, Baronum, Comitum et Ciuitatum Status. Praeterea verae descriptiones ornamentorum Caroli Magni. Cum apparatu conuiuij Regij, iucundissima lectu, Per Hartmannum Maurum Legum Professorem*. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1560. 8°, Col: A^8 ^2A-M^8 (M8v blank) ^2A-I^8 (I8v blank), fols. [176]. References: VD16 M 3092; USTC 679864.

Notes:

– A compilation of the above two entries, nos. 43 and 44.

45.1. *Georgij Sabini Brandenburgensis Schöne vnd lustige Beschrybung etlicher Rathschlegen vnnd Gesprächen in Erwelung eines Keysers, wie sölichs Caroli dess V: säliger hochlöblicher Gedechtnuss halbē verhandlet: sampt dem Eidt mit welchem sich der Keyser dem Reych verpflicht: item Nicolai Mamerani Lucemburg. fleyssige Erzelung, rhůmreycher Geschichten vnnd Thaten, jrer keyserlichen Mayestat: mitt zůgethonem Pomp grosser Kostlichheit, vnnd zierlicher Rüstung vnd Bereitschafft, so in Bekrönung der Keysern gebraucht wirt, vnd eigentlicher Verzeichnung, aller mitlauffenden Hendlen vnnd herzů dienstlichen Vmstenden, von Hartmanno Mauro Latin beschriben. Neülich aber ins teusch bracht, und in Druck versertiget. Durch Petrum Fabricium wittembergensem Anno MDLXI*. Wittenberg: P. Fabricius, 1561. 8°, Col: A-X^8 (X7–8 blank), fols. [166]. References: VD16 M 3097, M 422, M 5851.

46. Savonarola, Girolamo. *De simplicitate Christianae uitae Hieronymi Savanorolae, Ferrarensis, Ord. Praedic., uiri & sanctimoniae & innocentiae rarae, libri quinque plane digni qui ab omni Christiano homine haberi, legi & nunquam de manibus deponi debeant. Proverb. 10 et 11. Fortitudo simplices, via Domini. Justitia simplices, diriget viam cius. Cum gratia et privilegio Caesareo ad decennium. Coloniae Henricus Mameranus excudebat in Platea Judaica. Anno 1550*. Cologne: Heinrich Mam-

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eranus, 1550. 8°, Col: A-K^{8} L^{6} (K1 signed 'I'; L6v blank), fols. [86]. References: VD16 S 2038; USTC 631566.

46.1. *Von ainfaltigkait aines Christlichen lebens / durch den hoechgelerten herrn weiland/Hieronymum Savonarola von Ferrar / Prediger Ordens beschriben / und in vunff buecher gethailt / ainem jeden Christen menschen zu lesen nutzlich / und wirdig numer mer auss den henden zu legen / jetzund erstlich auss dem latein in Teutsch transferiert. Mit Kaiserlicher Maiestat Freyheit in zichen Jaren nit nach zutrucfen verboten. Gedruckt zu Coeln / durch Henricum Mameranum / M.D.Lii.* Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1552. 8°, Col: A-L^{8} M^{4} (M4 blank), fols. [92]. References: VD16 S 2039; USTC 702694.

47. Hasenberg, Johann (Jan Horák). *Artificum componendarum epistolarum, ex variis auctoribus collectum per Mameranum ex tabulis in libellum redactum*. Augsburg: Philip Ulhart, 1551. 8°, Col: A-D^{8} E^{4} (B4 signed 'A4'; E4v blank), fols. [36]. References: [not catalogued].

Copies:

- Newberry Library, Chicago, Special Collections, Shelfmark: Case Y 981 .851
- Staatliche Bibliothek, Neuburg an der Donau, Shelfmark: 01/8 B.W. 269
- University of Groningen Library, Groningen, Shelfmark: uklu KW A 261 d

48. Murmelius, Johann. *Officium discipulorum auctore Johanne Murmellio Ruremundano. Cui praemissa est scholae descriptio per Nicolaum Mameranum Lucemburgensem. Coloniae Henricus Mameranus excudebat in platea Judaica Anno, M.D.L.I.* Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1551. 8°, Col: A^{8} a^{8} ^{2}A-F^{8} G^{4} (G4v blank), fols. [68]. References: VD16 M 6931; USTC 679472.

Notes:

- As the title indicates, Mameranus has set before the title his *Scholae et eius officii generalis descriptio* (no. 14).

Copies:

- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: Paed.pr. 2450
- Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Shelfmark: HB 2174
- Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha, Shelfmark: Druck 8° 00765

48.1. Murmelius, Johann. *Officium discipulorum auctore Johanne Murmellio Ruremundano. Cum privilegio Caesareo ad decennium. Colonae Hanricus Mameranus excudebat in platea Judaica Anno, M.D.L.I.* Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1551. 8°, Col: [unknown], fols. [68]. References: VD16 M 6932; USTC 679325.

Notes:

- I have been unable to inspect this copy.

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Copies:
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49. Portis, Leonardo de. *De re pecuniaria antiqua: sestertio, talentis, ponderib. Mensuris, stipendiis militarib. Antiq. Prouinciarum: regumque populi ro: ac caesarum reditib. Libri duo utilißimi. Avctore Leonhardo porcio vicentino. Item Johannis Aquilae de potestate atque utilitate monetarum opusculum his additum. Item priscae monetae ad nostram supputatio per Mameranum collecta. De monetarum potestate materia de potestate atque utilitate monetarum priscae monetae ad nostram supputatio per Mameranum collecta. Cum Privilegeo Caesareo ad decennium. Coloniae Hanricus Mameranus excudebat in platea Judaica Anno,* M.D.L.I. Cologne: Heinrich Mameranus, 1551. 8°, Col: A-T^{8} V^{4} (L8 blank), fols. [156]. References: VD16 P 4397; USTC 631291.
Notes:
– As indicated on the title page, this contains an original composition by Mameranus, *Priscae Monetae ad nostram supputatio*, and also Johann Adler's (Aquila, died ca. 1518) *Opusculum de potestate et utilitate monetarum* (1516). A reprint of *Priscae Monetae* is found in *De Monetis et re Numaria, Libri Duo*. Cologne: Johann Gymnicus, 1591. pp. 661–666.

50. Faber, Johannes. *Quod Petrus Romae Fuerit, et ibidem Primus Episcopatum gesserit, atque sub Nerone martyrium passus fuerit: Et an fundamentum Ecclesiae dici possit. Per D. Johannem Fabri ab Hailbrun apud Augustam catholicae fidei concionatorem. Deuteronomii ca. 32. Interroga patrem tuum et annuntiabit tibi, maiores tuos et dicent tibi*. Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1552. 8°, Col: A-F^{8}, fols. [48]. References: VD16 F 159; USTC 689564.
Copies:
– Universitätsbibliothek, Freiburg im Breisgau, Ref: L7384
– LMU, Munich, Shelfmark: 0001/8 H.eccl. 2007
– BSB, Munich, Shelfmark: V.ss. 983#Beibd.1
– Katholieke Universiteit, Bibliotheek Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Lueven, Shelfmark: P279.213.2* 2 FABE 1553

50.1. *Testimonium scripturae et patrum, B. Petrum apostolum Romae fuisse: primumque ibidem episcopum: et sub nerone martyrium passum: ac fundamentum ecclesiae dici: per D. Johannem fabri ab hailbrunna, apud augustam catholicae fidei concionatorem. Cum epistola mamerani praefixa eiusdem argumenti. Deut. 32. Interroga patrem tuum et anuntiabit tibi, maiores tuos et dicent tibi. Anno 1553*. Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1553. 8°, Col: A-F^{8} G^{2} (G2v blank), fols. [50]. References: VD16 ZV 5697; USTC 696259.
Notes:

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– As the title page indicates, this volume also includes an original composition by Mameranus, the *epistola* on the same argument. The rest is a reproduction of *Quod Petrus Romae Fuerit* (no. 50).

Copies:

– Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: V.ss. 983
– Bibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, Shelfmark: 0001/8 H.eccl. 262(1.2)

50.2. *Testimonium scripturae et patrum, B. Petrum apostolum Romae fuisse: primumque ibidem episcopum: et sub nerone martyrium passum: ac fundamentum ecclesiae dici: per D. Johannem fabri ab hailbrunna, apud augustam catholicae fidei concionatorem. Cum epistola mamerani praefixa eiusdem argumenti. Deut 32. Interroga patrem tuum et annuntiabit tibi, maiores tuos et dicent tibi. Anno 1553*. Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1553, 8°, Col: A-F^{8} G^{4} (G4v blank), fols. [52]. References: VD16 F 160; USTC 696260.

Notes:

– Differs from the above primarily due to addition of *Candido Lectori Mameranus S*. at sigs. G1–2v.

51. Gerson, John [Kempis, Thomas á]. *Capitula aliquot ex libello vere aureo Joannis Gersonis Cancellarii Parisiensis de imitatione Christi. Per Mameranum in gratiam simplicis ac devotae pueritiae ad pietatem instituendae, excerpta. Capitula et eorum argumentum sequens indicabit pagella. Dillingae excudebat Sebaldus Mayer. Anno M.D.LIII*. Dillingen: Sabald Mayer, 1553. 8°, A-E^{8}, fols. [40]. References: VD16 T 1084; USTC 618025.

Notes:

– This also contains an original composition by Mameranus, *De castitate & sobrietate*, at sigs. E5–8v.

Copies:

– Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Deutsches Schrift- und Buchmuseum, Leipzig, Shelfmark: III 24, 1 a
– Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Shelfmark: P.lat. 1243

52. Hesse, Johannes Witte de. *Peregrinatio ab urbe Hierusalem insituta, per Indiam, Aethiopiam, aliasque quasdam remotas mundi nationes ducta; quarum situs, insulas, flumina, montes, mores et diversitates hominum, animalia, monstra, & mirabilia multa, nostro orbi incognita describit, coguitu lectuque iucunda, et utilia. Caetera contenta in hoc libello proxima pagina indicabit. Antuerpiae, Excudebat Joannes Withagius. Anno 1565. Cum Privilegio*. Antwerp: Joannes Withagius, 1565. 8°, Col: A-E^{8} (E8v blank), fols. [40]. References: USTC 401201.

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3 Manuscripts

53. *Epitaphia et Antiquitates Romanorum per Hispaniam, colligente Mamerano ab Lucemburgo*. Apograph. 4°, fols. 44. Königliche Bibliothek, Hannover, Niedersachsische Landesbibliothek, Shelfmark: MS XXVIII 1653.
Notes:
– Original now lost. The text was compiled by Mameranus when he travelled through Spain between June 1533 and May 1535. It provides more than 150 inscriptions in Latin, Greek, and other languages. Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 39–42, 145–148, 270. Also see the discussion in Jonathan Edmondson, Trinidad Nogales Basarrate, and Walter Trillmich, *Imagen y memoria: Monumentos funerarios con retratos en la Colonia Augusta Emerita* (Madrid: 2001), 135.

53.1. *Epitaphia et Antiquitates Romanorum per Hispaniam, colligente Mamerano ab Lucemburgo*. Apograph. 4°, fols. 34. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, Shelfmark: 4° Cod. H(alder) 26.

54. *Iter Caesaris*. Archives de l'Etat, Brussels, Actes et Papiers relatifs aux diètes et diètines. Vol. 20, fols. 151–152 (3 August–16 September 1546).

55. *Literae Caesaris ad Ducem Virtembergensem eiusque subditos*. Archives de l'État, Brussels: Actes et Papiers relatifs aux diètes et diètines. Vol. 21, fols. 140–144 (14 December 1546).

56. *Literae Caesaris ad Ducem Virtembergensem eiusque subditos* (in German). Archives de l'État, Brussels: Actes et Papiers relatifs aux diètes et diétines. Vol. 21, fols. 146–150.

57. *Submissio Ulmensis ante Caesarem*. Archives de l'État, Brussels: Actes et Papiers relatifs aux diètes et diétines. Vol. 21, fol. 4a (23 December 1546).

58. *Copia Literarum Ducis Wirtembergensis ad Caesarem*. Archives de l'État, Brussels: Actes et Papiers relatifs aux diètes et diètines. Vol. 21, fol. 165a–b (20 December 1546).

59. *Articuli compositionis factae inter Romanam Caesaream Maiestatem et Hudalricum ducem Wirtembergensem*. Archives de l'État, Brussels: Actes et Papiers relatifs aux diètes et diètines. Vol. 21, fols. 10–11 (3 January 1547).

60. *Propositiones Caesaris in Comitiis Augustanis anno 1547*. Archives de l'État, Brussels: Actes et Papiers relatifs aux diètes et diètines. Vol. 25, fols. 104–106.

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61. *Exercitus Caesaris per nomina Primariorum et Ducum utrusque armaturae descriptio: Nomina Generalium, Primariorum Ducum seu Capitaneorum et Commissarioru totius exercitus Caesaris in expeditionem super rebelles etc inobedientes quosdam Germaninae Principes conscripti et coacti, Anno 1546*. 4°, fols. [18]. K. Bayerisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Munich, Schmalkaldische Kriegssachen de Ao. 1546 et 1547. Tomus XIX. fols. 549–567.

62. *Das Register aller Generalen, Obersten, Hauptleuten und Commissarien des ganzen Heers, so Kayserliche Mayestät uber etlicher ungehorsams und widerstrebige, teutscher Nation gefürt hat im Jar 46 und 47*. K. Bayerisches Geheimes Staatsarchives München. Schmalkaldische Bundessachen de Ao. 1546. Tomus XIV. Bl. fols. 529–538.

63. *Mamerani, Caroli V imperatoris concionatoris aulici, Strena, per Pfinzingium ad Senatum norib. missa, qua restitutionem monasterior. illis persuadere conatus est*. c. 1550[?] Subtitle: *Strena Mamerani ad Amplissimum clarissimumque Senatum Nureinbergen*. Newberry Library, Chicago, Special Collections, Shelfmark: VAULT Case MS Y 682 .M308.
    Notes:
    – The manuscript held by Newberry Library is the only extant copy of his New Year's gift to the Senate. There is no date for the piece, and it has been neither transcribed nor translated into any languages. The Pfinzing mentioned on the cover is the Imperial secretary Paul Pfinzing, of Nuremberg (afterwards Secretary for German affairs to Philip II) who was Mameranus's patron. Mameranus obtained two privileges from Charles V to print books in which Pfinzing provided the witness signatures. The privileges are dated 4 July 1549 and 17 May 1550 and are the only known documents relating to Mameranus and Pfinzing together. Perhaps, then, this manuscript, a New Year's gift, was written and presented sometime around the beginning of 1550. The work is an appeal to restore the monasteries that had been impoverished or ruined during the Reformation.

64. *Sacrae catholicae Romanorum regiae majestatis consiliariis, dominus suis observandissimis*. Innsbruck, 18 December 1551. Lost.
    Transcript:
    – "Mameranus an König Ferdinands Räthe", in August von Druffel. *Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte, 1546–51*. Vol. 1. Munich: Himmer, 1873. no. 847, pp. 861–865.

65. *Von Anrichtung des newen Evangelii und der alten libertet oder freyhait deutscher Nation. Durch Andream fridenstain von Angsthofen. Prov. a. 7 …* Reichsarchiv

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München, Sign: Religions-Akta des Römischen Reichs. Anno 1543–1549. Tom. III. fols. 290–306.

66. *Four Letters of Nicolaus Mameranus*. Brussels, I–III: 1554, IV: 1566. Lost.
Transcript:
– "Nicolai Mamerani Epistolae IV", in Ayrmann, Christoph Friedrich. *Sylloge anecdotorum omnis aevi chronicorum, diplomatum, epistolarum, commentationum, historias et res germanicas exterasque, civiles et ecclesiasticas, illustrantium*, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt: Andrae and Hort, 1746), 415–423.

67. *Carmen gratulatorium in Maximiliani II. et Mariae in Brabantiam adventum a. 1556*. Apograph. Brussels, 1556. 4o, fols. 9. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Shelfmark: Cod. 9872 Han.
Transcript:
– Didier, *Mameranus*, pp. 305–311.

68. *Serenissimi Rex et Regina*. Autograph. London, 22 May 1557. "Petition 1", National Archives, Richmond, Shelfmark: State Papers 11/14, no. 12, fols. 32–37.
Transcript:
– "Bittschrift Mamerans an König Philipp und die Königin Maria die Katholische, betreffend die Einführung von Verbesserungen im englischen und niederländischen Münzwesen, und von Reformen im Interesse der katholischen Kirche und des Volkes in England", in Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, pp. 311–318.

69. *Libri sereniss. Reginae Angliae, partim xvi. partim xxii. Maii per Mameranum oblati*. Autograph. London, 22 May 1557. "Petition 2, Gift of Books", National Archives, Richmond, Shelfmark: State Papers 11/14, no. 13. fol. 38.
Transcript:
– "Verzeichnis von sieben Mameranischen Werken, welche der Autor, teils am 16., teils am 22. Mai 1557 der Königin Maria der Katholischen von England überreichte, nebst einer Inhaltsangabe der vorhergehenden Schrift", in Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, pp. 318–319.

70. *Solemnitas exequiarum Caroli V. Imperatoris Mariae Reginae Angliae Mariae Reginae Hungariae Per Nicolaum Mameranium Poetam Laureatum collecta Coloniae Patrocinio et impensis Henrici Mamerani. Cum gratia et privilegio Imperiali perpetuo ad imprimendum solum*. Brussels, 1558. Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, Collection Chiflet, Shelfmark: MS Chifflet 68, fols. 185–203.

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71. *Funeralium exequiarum solemnitas Caroli quinti Imperatoris celebrata Bruxxellae altera natvitatis domini anno 1558*. Brussels, 1558. Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, Collection Chiflet, Shelfmark: MS Chifflet 68, fols. 204–209.

72. *Funebrium Pomparum et Ceremoniarum Solemnitas Mariae Reginae Angliae 28 Nouembris Anni 58 Defuncte*. Brussels, 1558. Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, Collection Chiflet, Shelfmark: MS Chifflet 68, fol. 210.
Notes:
– Open access digital reproduction of the entire Chifflet collection at Ville de Besançon. URL: http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a011408774124cQJzij

73. *Ad Reuerendissimos Illustrissimos. Generosos et Magnificos, Prudentissimosque viros dominos ad trattationem pacis Cambrisiis congregatos*. Brussels, 10 February 1559. Biblioteca Nacional De España, Shelfmark: MSS 7916, fol. 271.
Notes:
– Open access digital reproduction at the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica. URL: http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000167502

74. *Carta de Nicolaus Mameranus al Cardenal Granvela*. ca. 1560. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, Papeles varios relacionados con el cardenal Granvela, Shelfmark: II/2534, fol. 29(v).

75. *Praefatio Nicolai Mamerani, poetae laureati, ad Serenissimum Philippum Regem Hispanarum*, in Mameranus, Thomas. *Instructio et ratio chartarum in plano delineatarum munitionis Lucemburgi et Theumuillae oppidorum, sicuti iam sunt munita et quemadmodum existimentur ulterius posse muniri per Thomam Mameranum, ciuem Lucemburgensem, de Lucemburgo*. 1561. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Shelfmark: MS Cod. Lat. e II 15.

76. *Nicolai Mamerani Lucemburgensis Poetae Laureati Aquaeductus Bruxellanus absolutus Anno 1561. Cum privilegio Imperatorio generali ac Regio. Lovanii, apud Reynerum Velpium typographum iuratum, anno 1562*. Royal Library of Belgium, Ms. No. 16213–16215, fols. 35–49.

77. *Ad Serenissimam Dominam Ducissam Gubernatricem*. 1565. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, Shelfmark: no. 401. fol. 57.
Notes:

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– This manuscript, handwritten by Mameranus, is part of a collection that can be found in Archives Générales du Royaume (Bruxelles), and which have been reproduced in full by Desmed in "Quatre poèmes", pp. 190–191.

78. *Oratio ad Diuum Paulum Apostolum Melitae insulae patronum atque protectorem*. 1565. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, Shelfmark: no. 401. fol. 58(r-v).

79. *Oratio ad Deum Patrem*. 1565. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, Shelfmark: no. 401. fols. 58(v)–59.

80. *Oratio ad Christum saluatorem*. 1565. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, Shelfmark: no. 401, fols. 59–60.

81. *Ad illustres et generosos, doctrina et prudentia excellentes, clarissimosque viros, Serenissimi Regis Hispaniarum et Serenissimae Reginae Angliae apud Brugas Flandriae in tractatione concordiae utrimque inter mercatorum negociationes ac mercimonia, commissarios et legatos*. 1565. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, Shelfmark: no. 401. fols. 61–63.

4 Unidentified Works[2]

82. *Commentarii belli contra rebelles Principes ac Civitates*.

83. *Commentarii Rerum Gestarum Caesaris*.

84. *Descriptio Augustae et Wittenbergae*.

85. *De arte typographica*.

86. *De bello Saxico*.

87. *De descriptionibus urbium*.

2 List compiled primarily from Didier, *Nikolaus Mameranus*, 290; Zedler, *Grosses Vollständiges*, vol. 19, 818–819.

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88. *De venatione*.
Notes:
– Possibly at Complutense University of Madrid. Bca. Historicá-F. Antiguo, Shelfmark: BH DER 2914 (5).

89. *Itinerarium Caroli V de tota pene Europa peragrata*.

90. *Liber de cognatione et diversitate linguarum*.

91. *Libellus de festo et ceremoniis ordinis Phrygii seu Aurei Velleris*.

92. *Liber de monetis, ulnis et mensuris diversarum nationum nostri temporis*.
Notes:
– Possibly *Priscae monetae* within his edition of Portis.

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Archivo General de Simancas, Estado 1498.

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 9937.

British Library Cotton MSS Titus B II, C VII.

Correspondance Politique, Angleterre, Vol. XIII. Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris.

La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. Ii. 3.

Mameranus, Nicolaus. See Appendix 5.

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv AT-OeStA/AVA Adel RAA 260.31–32.

Public Records Office, Lord Chamberlain's Office, Miscellanea MS 5/31.

Printed

A Plaine and Godlye Treatise, Concernynge the Masse and the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter for the Instruccion of the Symple and Vnlerned People. London: 1555.

A Very Profitable Boke to Lerne the Maner of Redyng, Writyng, Speakyng English. London: 1554.

Acts of the Privy Council of England. Edited by John Roche Dasent. Vol. 6. London: 1893.

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Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547–1580. Edited by Robert Lemon. London: 1856.

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Copia d'una lettera scritta all'illustriss. S. Francesco Taverna Crancanz. etc. da uno gentil'huomo della Corte del Sereniss. Re di Spagna, da Vincestre alli. xxv. di Giulio del felicissimo viaggio in Inghilterra, & delli Sponsaliti fatti conquella Serenissima Regina … Milan: 1554.

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